Sarah Lenno of

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM

THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO THE

ABDICATION of JAMES the SECOND,

BY

DAVID HUME, Esq.

With the AUTHOR's last

CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

To which are added

A CONTINUATION,

From the ABDICATION to the DEATH of GEORGE II.

By Dr. SMOLLETT;

And a further Continuation

From GEORGE II. to the PRESENT TIME,

By T. A. LLOYD, Esq.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

ELIZABETH.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Queen's popularity——Re-establishment of the protestant religion——A parliament——Peace with France——Disgust between the Queen and Mary queen of Scots——Affairs of Scotland——Reformation of Scotland——Civil wars in Scotland——Interposal of the Queen in the affairs of Scotland——Settlement of Scotland——French affairs——Arrival of Mary in Scotland——Bigotry of the Scotch reformers——Wise government of Elizabeth.

IN a nation so divided as the English, it could scarcely be expected that the death of one sovereign, and the accession of another, who was generally believed to have embraced opposite principles to those which prevailed, could be the object of universal satisfaction: Yet so much were men displeased with the present conduct of affairs, and such apprehensions were entertained of futurity, that the people, overlooking their theological disputes, expressed a general and unfeigned joy that the sceptre had passed into the hand of Elizabeth. That princess had discovered great prudence in her conduct, during the reign of her sister; and as men were sensible of the imminent danger to which she was every moment exposed, compassion towards her situation, and concern for her safety, had rendered her, to an uncommon degree, the favorite of the nation. A parliament had been assembled a few days before Mary's death; and when Heathe, archbishop of York, then chancellor, notified to them that event, scarcely an interval of regret appeared; and the two houses immediately resounded with the joyful acclamations of "God save queen Elizabeth!

"Long

"Long and happily may she reign!" The people, less actuated by faction, and less influenced by private views, expressed a joy still more general and hearty on her proclamation; and the auspicious commencement of this reign, prognosticated that felicity and glory, which, during its whole course, so uniformly attended it.

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death; and, after a few days, she went thence to London, through crowds of people, who strove with each other in giving her the strongest testimony of their affection. On her entrance into the Tower, she could not forbear reflecting on the great difference between her present fortune, and that which a few years before had attended her, when she was conducted to that place as a prisoner, and lay there, exposed to all the bigoted malignity of her enemies. She fell on her knees, and expressed her thanks to Heaven for the deliverance which the Almighty had granted her from her bloody persecutors: a deliverance, she said, no less miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the den of lions. This act of pious gratitude seems to have been the last circumstance in which she remembered any past hardships and injuries. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, she buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had acted with the greatest malevolence against her. Sir Harry Bennifield himself, to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her with severity, never felt, during the whole course of her reign, any effects of her resentment. Yet was not the gracious reception which she gave, prostitute and undistinguishing. When the bishops came in a body to make their obeisance to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard; except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside, as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity.

After employing a few days in ordering her domestic affairs, Elizabeth notified to foreign courts, her sister's death, and her own accession. She sent lord Cobham to the

the Low Countries, where Philip then resided; and she took care to express to that monarch, her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her, and her desire of persevering in that friendship which had so happily commenced between them. Philip, who had long foreseen this event, and who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England, of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately dispatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, to make proposals of marriage to the queen: and he offered to procure from Rome, a dispensation for that purpose. But Elizabeth soon came to the resolution of declining the proposal. She saw that the nation had entertained an extreme aversion to the Spanish alliance during her sister's reign; and that one great cause of the popularity which she herself enjoyed, was the prospect of being freed, by her means, from the danger of foreign subjection. She was sensible that her affinity with Philip was exactly similar to that of her father with Catherine of Arragon; and that her marrying that monarch was in effect, declaring herself illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the throne. And, though the power of the Spanish monarchy might still be sufficient, in opposition to all pretenders, to support her title, her masculine spirit disdained such precarious dominion, which, as it would depend solely on the power of another, must be exercised according to his inclinations. But while these views prevented her from entertaining any thoughts of a marriage with Philip, she gave him an obliging, though evasive, answer; and he still retained such hopes of success, that he sent a messenger to Rome, with orders to solicit the dispensation.

The queen too, on her sister's death, had written to sir Edward Carne, the English ambassador at Rome, to notify her accession to the pope; but the precipitature of Paul broke through all the cautious measures concerted by this young princess. He told Carne, that England was a fief of the holy see; and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have assumed, without his par-

ticipation, the title and authority of queen: That being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom, nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by Clement VII. and Paul III. with regard to Henry's marriage: that, were he to proceed with rigour, he should punish this criminal invasion of his rights by rejecting all her applications; but, being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would still keep the door of grace open to her: And that, if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity compatible with the dignity of the apostolic see. When this answer was reported to Elizabeth, she was astonished at the character of that aged pontiff; and, having recalled her ambassador, she continued with more determined resolution to pursue those measures which already she had secretly embraced.

The queen, not to alarm the partisans of the catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors, but, in order to balance their authority, she added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the protestant communion; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, sir Thomas Parry, sir Edward Rogers, sir Ambrose Cave, sir Francis Knolles, sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord keeper, and sir William Cecil, secretary of state. With these counsellors, particularly Cecil, she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of restoring the protestant religion, and the means of executing that great enterprise. Cecil told her that the greater part of the nation had, ever since her father's reign, inclined to the reformation; and, though her sister had constrained them to profess the ancient faith, the cruelties exercised by her ministers had still more alienated their affections from it: That happily the interests of the sovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people; nor was her title to the crown compatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff: That a sentence, so solemnly pronounced by two popes, against her mother's marriage, could not possibly be recalled,

called, without inflicting a mortal wound on the credit of the see of Rome; and even, if she were allowed to retain the crown, it would only be on an uncertain and dependent footing: That this circumstance alone, counterbalanced all dangers whatsoever; and these dangers themselves, if narrowly examined, would be found very little formidable: That the curses and execrations of the Romish church, when not seconded by military force, were, in the present age, more an object of ridicule than of terror, and had now as little influence in this world as in the next: That though the bigotry or ambition of Henry or Philip might incline them to execute a sentence of excommunication against her, their interests were so incompatible, that they never could concur in any plan of operations; and the enmity of the one, would always insure to her the friendship of the other: That if they encouraged the discontents of her catholic subjects, their dominions also abounded with protestants, and it would be easy to retaliate upon them: That even such of the English as seemed at present zealously attached to the catholic faith, would, most of them, embrace the religion of their new sovereign; and the nation had of late been so much accustomed to these revolutions, that men had lost all idea of truth and falsehood in such subjects: that the authority of Henry VIII. so highly raised by many concurring circumstances, first enured the people to this submissive deference; and it was the less difficult for succeeding princes to continue the nation in a track to which it had so long been accustomed: and that it would be easy for her, by bestowing on protestants all preferment in civil offices and the militia, the church and the universities, both to ensure her own authority, and to render her religion entirely predominant.

The education of Elizabeth, as well as her interest, led her to favour the reformation; and she remained not long in suspense with regard to the party which she should embrace. But, though determined in her own mind, she resolved to proceed by gradual steps, and not to imi-

the example of Mary, in encouraging the bigots of her party to make, immediately, an invasion on the established religion. She thought it requisite, however, to discover such symptoms of her intentions, as might give encouragement to the protestants, so much depressed by the late violent persecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners who were confined on account of religion. We are told of a pleasantry of one Rainsford on this occasion, who said to the queen, that he had a petition to present her in behalf of other prisoners, called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: She readily replied, that it behoved her first to consult the prisoners themselves, and to learn of them whether they desired that liberty which he demanded for them.

Elizabeth also proceeded to exert, in favour of the reformers, some acts of power which were authorised by the extent of royal prerogative during that age. Finding that the protestant teachers, irritated by persecution, broke out in a furious attack on the ancient superstition, and that the Romanists replied with no less zeal and acrimony, she published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special license; and though she dispensed with these orders in favour of some preachers of her own sect, she took care that they should be the most calm and moderate of the party. She also suspended the laws, so far as to order a great part of the service, the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the gospels to be read in English. And, having first published injunctions that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence; an innovation which, however frivolous it may appear, implied the most material consequences.

These declarations of her intentions, concurring with preceding suspicions, made the bishops foresee, with certainty, a revolution in religion. They therefore refused to officiate at her coronation; and it was with much

much difficulty that the bishop of Carlisle was at last prevailed on to perform the ceremony. When she was conducted through London, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, a boy, who personated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches, and presented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the most gracious deportment; placed it next her bosom; and declared, that, amidst all the costly testimonies which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this present was by far the most precious and most acceptable. Such were the innocent artifices by which Elizabeth insinuated herself into the affections of her subjects. Open in her address, gracious and affable in all public appearances, she rejoiced in the concourse of her subjects, entered into all their pleasures and amusements; and, without departing from her dignity, which she knew well how to preserve, she acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain. Her own sex exulted to see a woman hold the reins of empire with such prudence and fortitude: And while a young princess of twenty-five years (for that was her age at her accession), who possessed all the graces and insinuation, though not all the beauty of her sex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her services, her authority, though corroborated by the strictest bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

A sovereign of this disposition was not likely to offend her subjects by any useless or violent exertions of power; and Elizabeth, though she threw out such hints as encouraged the protestants, delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament, which was summoned to assemble. The elections had gone entirely against the catholics, who seem not indeed to have made any great struggle for the superiority; and the houses met, in a disposition of gratifying the queen in every particular which she could desire of them.

They began the session with an unanimous declaration, "that queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well "by the word of God, as the common and statute "laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true "heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the blood-"royal, according to the order of succession settled in "the 35th of Henry VIII."* This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herself, and her ministers; and she shewed her magnanimity, as well as moderation, in the terms which she employed on that occasion. She followed not Mary's practice, in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly made against her own legitimacy: She knew that this attempt must be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceased sister; and as all the world was sensible, that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his usual violence and caprice, she scorned to found her title on any act of an assembly which had too much prostituted its authority by its former variable, servile, and iniquitous decisions. Satisfied therefore in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted, the less anxiety she discovered in fortifying it by votes and enquiries; she took possession of the throne, both as her birthright, and as ensured to her by former acts of parliament; and she never appeared anxious to distinguish these titles.

The first bill brought into parliament, with a view of trying their disposition on the head of religion, was that for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen. This point being gained with much difficulty, a bill

* Notwithstanding the bias of the nation towards the protestant sect, it appears, that some violence, at least according to our present ideas, was used in these elections: Five candidates were nominated by the court to each borough, and three to each county; and, by the sheriff's authority, two members were chosen from among these candidates. *See state papers collected by Edmund earl of Clarendon*, p. 92. was

was next introduced, annexing the supremacy to the crown; and though the queen was there denominated *governess*, not *head*, of the church, it conveyed the same extensive power, which, under the latter title, had been exercised by her father and brother. All the bishops who were present in the upper house strenuously opposed this law; and as they possessed more learning than the temporal peers, they triumphed in the debate; but the majority of voices in that house, as well as among the commons, was against them. By this act the crown, without the concurrence either of the parliament, or even of the convocation, was vested with the whole spiritual power; might repress all heresies, might establish or repeal all canons, might alter every point of discipline, and might ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony*. In determining heresy, the sovereign was only bounded (if that could be called a boundary) to such doctrines as had been adjudged heresy, by the authority of the Scripture, by the first four general councils, or by any general council which followed the Scripture as their rule, or to such other doctrines as should hereafter be declared heresy by the parliament and convocation. In order to exercise this authority, the queen, by a clause of the act, was empowered to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper; and on this clause was afterwards founded the court of ecclesiastical commission; which assumed a large discretionary, not to say arbitrary power, totally incompatible with any other limitations in the constitution. Its proceedings indeed were often controlled by the common law, but were entirely subject to the review of the king in council, by writs of prohibition; and it tended not a little to support the throne, till the power which had formerly been claimed by the popes, but which even these usurping princes had never been able fully to exercise, without some concurrence of the national clergy.

* Eliz. cap. 1. This last power was anew recognized in the 1st of Jac. I. cap. 2. Whoever

Whoever refused to take an oath, acknowledging the queen's supremacy, was incapacitated from holding any office; whoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the first offence, all his goods and chattels; for the second, was subjected to the penalty of a præmunire; but the third offence was declared treason. These punishments, however severe, were less rigorous than those which were formerly, during the reigns of her father and brother, inflicted in like cases.

A law was passed, confirming all the statutes enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion: The nomination of bishops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters: The queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any see, to seize all the temporalities, and to bestow on the bishop-elect an equivalent in the impropriations belonging to the crown. This pretended equivalent was commonly much inferior in value; and thus the queen, amidst all her concern for religion, followed the example of the preceding reformers, in committing depredations on the ecclesiastical revenues.

The bishops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leases longer than twenty-one years, or three lives. This law seemed to be meant for securing the property of the church; but as an exception was left in favour of the crown, great abuses still prevailed. It was usual for the courtiers during this reign to make an agreement with a bishop or incumbent, and to procure a fictitious alienation to the queen, who afterwards transferred the lands to the person agreed on. This method of pillaging the church was not remedied till the beginning of James I. The present depression of the clergy exposed them to all injuries; and the laity never stopped till they had reduced the church to such poverty that her plunder was no longer a compensation for the odium incurred by it.

A solemn and public disputation was held during this

this suffice, in presence of lord keeper Bacon, between the divines of the protestant and those of the catholic communion. The champions, appointed to defend the religion of the sovereign, were, as in all former instances, entirely triumphant; and the popish disputants being pronounced refractory and obdurate, were even punished by imprisonment. Emboldened by this victory, the protestants ventured on the last and most important step, and brought into parliament a bill for abolishing the mass, and re-establishing the liturgy of king Edward. Penalties were enacted, as well against those who departed from this mode of worship, as against those who absented themselves from the church and sacraments. And thus, in one session, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole system of religion altered, on the very commencement of a reign, and by the will of a young woman, whose title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections: An event which, though it may appear surprising to men in the present age, was every where expected on the first intelligence of Elizabeth's accession.

The commons also made a sacrifice to the queen more difficult to obtain than that of any articles of faith: They voted a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on moveables, together with two fifteenths*. The peers in no instance departed from the most respectful deference and com-

* The parliament also granted the queen the duties of tonnage and poundage; but this concession was at that time regarded only as a matter of form, and the house viewed these duties before they were voted by parliament. But there was another exertion of power which she practised, and which people in the present age, from their ignorance of ancient practices, may be apt to think still extraordinary. Her sister, after the commencement of the war with France, had, from her own authority, imposed four marks on each tun of wine imported, and had increased the poundage a third on all commodities. Queen Elizabeth continued these impositions as long as the thought convenient. The parliament, who had so good an opportunity of restraining these arbitrary taxes, when they voted

plaisance towards the queen. Even the importunate address which they made her on the conclusion of the session, to fix her choice of a husband, could not, they supposed, be very disagreeable to one of her sex and age. The address was couched in the most respectful expressions; yet met with a refusal from the queen.—She told the speaker, that, as the application from the house was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a husband, she could not take offence at the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her: That any farther interposition on their part would have ill become either them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess: That even while she was a private person, and exposed to much danger, she had always declined that engagement, which she regarded as an incumbrance; much more, at present, would she persevere in this sentiment, when the charge of a kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the interests of religion and the happiness of her subjects: That as England was her husband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here she shewed her finger with the same gold ring upon it, with which she had solemnly betrothed herself to the kingdom at her inauguration) so all Englishmen were her children, and while she was employed in rearing or governing such a family, she could not deem herself barren, or her life useless and unprofitable: That if she ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her subjects welfare would still be uppermost in her thoughts; but should she live and die a virgin, she

voted the tonnage and poundage, thought not proper to make any mention of them. They knew that the sovereigns, during that age, pretended to have the sole regulation of foreign trade, and that their intermeddling with that prerogative would have drawn on them the severest reproof, if not chastisement. See Forbes, vol. i. p. 132, 133. We knew certainly, from the statutes and journals, that no such impositions were granted by parliament.

doubted

doubted not but divine Providence, ſeconded by their counſels, and her own meaſures, would be able to prevent all diſputes with regard to the ſucceſſion, and ſecure them a ſovereign, who, perhaps better than her own iſſue, would imitate her example in loving and cherifhing her people: And that, for her part, ſhe deſired that no higher character, or fairer remembrance of her ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity, than to have this inſcription engraved on her tomb-ſtone, when ſhe ſhould pay the laſt debt to nature: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

1559. After the prerogation of parliament*, the laws enacted with regard to religion were put in execution, and met with little oppoſition from any quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of ſupremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of biſhops had been reduced to fourteen by a ſickly ſeaſon, which preceded; and all theſe, except the biſhop of Landaff, having refuſed compliance, were degraded from their ſees: But of the inferior clergy throughout all England, where there are near 10,000 parithes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, ſacrificed their livings to their religious principles. Thoſe in high eccleſiaſtic ſtations, being expoſed to the eyes of the public, ſeem chiefly to have placed a point of honour in their perſeverance; but on the whole, the proteſtants, in the former change introduced by Mary, appear to have been much more rigid and conſcientious. Though the catholic religion, adapting itſelf to the ſenſes, and enjoining obſervances which enter into the common train of life, does at preſent lay raſter hold on the mind than the reformed, which, being chiefly ſpiritual, reſembles

* It is thought remarkable by Camden, that though this ſeſſion was the firſt of the reign, no perſon was attainted; but, on the contrary, ſome reſtored in blood by the parliament: A good ſymptom of the lenity, at leaſt of the prudence, of the queen's government; and that it ſhould appear remarkable, is a proof of the rigour of preceding reigns.

more

more a system of metaphysics; yet was the proportion of zeal, as well as of knowledge, during the first ages after the reformation, much greater on the side of the protestants. The catholics continued, ignorantly and supinely, in their ancient belief, or rather their ancient practices: But the reformers, obliged to dispute on every occasion, and enflamed to a degree of enthusiasm by novelty and persecution, had strongly attached themselves to their tenets; and were ready to sacrifice their fortunes, and even their lives, in support of their speculative and abstract principles.

The forms and ceremonies still preserved in the English liturgy, as they bore some resemblance to the ancient service, tended farther to reconcile the catholics to the established religion; and as the queen permitted no other mode of worship, and at the same time struck out every thing that could be offensive to them in the new liturgy, even those who were addicted to the Romish communion made no scruple of attending the established church.

Had Elizabeth gratified her own inclinations, the exterior appearance, which is the chief circumstance with the people, would have been still more similar between the new and the ancient form of worship. Her love of state and magnificence, which she affected in every thing, inspired her with an inclination towards the pomp of the catholic religion; and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party, that she gave up either images or the addresses to saints, or prayers for the dead. Some foreign princes interposed to procure the Romanists the privilege of separate assemblies in particular cities, but the queen would not comply with their request; and she represented the manifest danger of disturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions.

While the queen and parliament were employed in settling the public religion, the negotiations for a peace were still conducted, first at Cercamp, then at Cateau-Cambresis, between the ministers of France, Spain,

Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not equally successful in this transaction. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure the restitution of Calais, both as bound in honour to indemnify England, which, merely on his account, had been drawn into the war, and as engaged in interest to remove France to a distance from his frontiers in the Low Countries. So long as he entertained hopes of espousing the queen, he delayed concluding a peace with Henry; and even after the change of religion in England deprived him of all such views, his ministers hinted to her a proposal, which may be regarded as reasonable and honourable. Though all his own terms with France were settled, he seemed willing to continue the war till he should obtain satisfaction; provided she would stipulate to adhere to the Spanish alliance, and continue hostilities against Henry during the course of six years. But Elizabeth, after consulting with her ministers, wisely rejected this proposal. She was sensible of the low state of her finances: the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister; the disorders introduced into every part of the administration: the divisions by which her people were agitated; and she was convinced that nothing but tranquillity during some years could bring the kingdom again into a flourishing condition, or enable her to act with dignity and vigour in her transactions with foreign nations. Well acquainted with the value which Henry put upon Calais, and the impossibility, during the present emergency, of recovering it by treaty, she was willing rather to suffer that loss, than submit to such a dependence on Spain, as she must expect to fall into, if she continued pertinaciously in her present demand. She ordered, therefore, her ambassadors, lord Effingham, the bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, to conclude the negotiation, and to settle a peace with Henry on any reasonable terms. Henry offered to stipulate a marriage between the eldest daughter of the dauphin, and the eldest son of Elizabeth; and to engage for the

restitution of Calais as the dowry of that princess; but the queen was sensible that this treaty would appear to the world a palpable evasion, she insisted upon more equitable, at least more plausible conditions. It was at last agreed, that Henry should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in case of failure, he should pay five hundred thousand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais still remain; that he should find the security of seven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France, for the payment of this sum; that he should deliver five hostages till that security was provided; that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, she should forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he should be obliged immediately to restore that fortress. All men of penetration easily saw that these stipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excused the queen on account of the necessity of her affairs; and they even extolled her prudence, in submitting, without farther struggle, to that necessity. A peace with Scotland was a necessary consequence of that with France.

Philip and Henry terminated hostilities by a mutual restitution of all places taken during the course of the war; and Philip espoused the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of France, formerly betrothed to his son Don Carlos. The duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's sister, and obtained a restitution of all his dominions of Savoy and Piedmont, except a few towns, retained by France. And thus general tranquillity seemed to be restored to Europe.

But though peace was concluded between France and England, there soon appeared a ground of quarrel of the most serious nature, and which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. The two marriages of Henry VIII. that with Catherine of Arragon, and that with Anne Boleyn, were incompatible with each other; and it seemed impossible, that both of them could be regarded as valid and legal?

But

But ſtill the birth of Elizabeth lay under ſome diſadvantages, to which that of her ſiſter, Mary, was not expoſed. Henry's firſt marriage had obtained the ſanction of all the powers, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, which were then acknowledged in England; and it was natural for proteſtants, as well as Romaniſts, to allow, on account of the ſincere intention of the parties, that their iſſue ought to be regarded as legitimate. But his divorce and ſecond marriage had been concluded in direct oppoſition to the ſee of Rome; and though they had been ratified by the authority both of the Engliſh parliament and convocation, thoſe who were ſtrongly attached to the catholic communion, and who reaſoned with great ſtrictneſs, were led to regard them as entirely invalid, and to deny altogether the queen's right of ſucceſſion. The next heir of blood was the queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princeſs, joined to her plauſible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The king of France had ſecretly been ſoliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication againſt the queen; and ſhe had here been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who, from intereſt more than either friendſhip or generoſity, had negotiated in her favour, and had ſucceſsfully oppoſed the pretenſions of Henry. But the court of France was not diſcouraged with this repulſe: The duke of Guiſe, and his brothers, thinking that it would much augment their credit if their niece ſhould bring an acceſſion of England, as ſhe had already done of Scotland, to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim: and, by their perſuaſion, he ordered his ſon and daughter-in-law to aſſume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter theſe arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the Engliſh ambaſſador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evaſive anſwer; that as the queen of Scots was deſcended from the blood royal of England, ſhe was entitled, by the example of many princes, to aſſume the arms of that

kingdom. But besides that this practice had never prevailed without permission being first obtained, and without making a visible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly saw, that this pretension had not been advanced during the reign of her sister Mary; and that therefore the king of France intended, on the first opportunity, to dispute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, she thenceforth conceived a violent jealousy against the queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as possible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor, Francis II. still continued to assume, without reserve, the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the injury, and providing for her own safety.

The murder of the cardinal-primate at St. Andrews had deprived the Scottish catholics of a head, whose severity, courage, and capacity, had rendered him extremely formidable to the innovators in religion: and the execution of the laws against heresy began thenceforth to be more remiss. The queen-regent governed the kingdom by prudent and moderate counsels; and as she was not disposed to sacrifice the civil interests of the state to the bigotry or interests of the clergy, she deemed it more expedient to temporize, and to connive at the progress of a doctrine which she had not power entirely to repress. When informed of the death of Edward, and the accession of Mary to the crown of England, she entertained hopes, that the Scottish reformers, deprived of the countenance which they received from that powerful kingdom, would lose their ardour with their prospect of success, and would gradually return to the faith of their ancestors. But the progress and

and revolutions of religion are little governed by the usual maxims of civil policy; and the event much disappointed the expectations of the regent. Many of the English preachers, terrified with the severity of Mary's government, took shelter in Scotland, where they found more protection, and a milder administration, and while they propagated their theological tenets, they filled the whole kingdom with a just horror against the enormities of the bigoted catholics, and showed their disciples the fate which they must expect, if ever their adversaries should attain an uncontrolled authority over them.

A hierarchy, moderate in its acquisitions of power and riches, may safely grant a toleration to sectaries; and the more it softens the zeal of innovators by lenity and liberty, the more securely will it possess those advantages which the legal establishments bestow upon it. But where superstition has raised a church to such an exorbitant height as that of Rome, persecution is less the result of bigotry in the priests, than of a necessary policy; and the rigour of law is the only method of repelling the attacks of men, who, besides religious zeal, have so many other motives, derived both from public and private interest, to engage them on the side of innovation. But though such overgrown hierarchies may long support themselves by these violent expedients, the time comes, when severities tend only to enrage the new sectaries, and make them break through all bounds of reason and moderation. This crisis was now visibly approaching in Scotland; and whoever considers merely the transactions resulting from it, will be inclined to throw the blame equally on both parties; whoever enlarges his view, and reflects on the situations, will remark the necessary progress of human affairs, and the operation of those principles which are inherent in human nature.

Some heads of the reformers in Scotland, such as the earl of Argyle, his son lord Lorne, the earls of Morton and Glencarne, Erskine of Dun, and others, observing the danger to which they were exposed, and desirous to propagate their principles, entered privately into a bond

or association; and called themselves the *Congregation* of the Lord, in contradistinction to the established church, which they denominated the congregation of Satan. The tenour of the bond was as follows: "We, perceiving how Satan, in his members, the antichrist of our "time, do cruelly rage, seeking to overthrow and to "destroy the gospel of Christ and his congregation, "ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive, in "our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain "of the victory in him. We do therefore promise, "before the majesty of God and his congregation, that "we, by his grace, shall with all diligence continually "apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, "to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed "word of God and his congregation; and shall labour, "by all possible means, to have faithful ministers, truly "and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments "to his people: We shall maintain them, nourish them, "and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and "every member thereof, by our whole power, at the "hazard of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked "power, who may intend tyranny and trouble against "the said congregation: Unto which holy word and "congregation we do join ourselves; and we forsake "and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the "superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof; and "moreover shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies "thereto, by this faithful promise before God, testified to this congregation by our subscriptions. At "Edinburgh, the third of December 1557."

Had the subscribers of this zealous league been content only to demand a toleration of the new opinions; however unjustifiable their pretensions might have been with the policy of the church of Rome, they would have had the praise of opposing tyrannical laws, enacted to support an establishment prejudicial to civil society: But it is plain, that they carried their views much farther; and their practice immediately discovered the spirit by which they were actuated. Supported by the au-

authority which they thought belonged to them as the congregation of the Lord, they ordained, that prayers in the vulgar tongue should be used in all the parish churches of the kingdom; and that preaching, and the interpretation of the scriptures, should be practised in private houses, till God should move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers. Such bonds of association are always the forerunners of rebellion; and this violent invasion of the established religion was the actual commencement of it.

Before this league was publicly known or avowed, the clergy, alarmed with the progress of the reformation, attempted to recover their lost authority by a violent exercise of power, which tended still further to augment the zeal and number of their enemies. Hamilton, the primate, seized Walter Mill, a priest of an irreproachable life, who had embraced the new doctrines; and having tried him at St. Andrews, condemned him to the flames for heresy. Such general aversion was entertained against this barbarity, that it was some time before the bishops could prevail on any one to act the part of a civil judge, and pronounce sentence upon Mill; and even after the time of his execution was fixed, all the shops of St. Andrews being shut, no one would sell a rope to tie him to the stake, and the primate himself was obliged to furnish this implement. The man bore the torture with that courage which, though usual on those occasions, always appears supernatural and astonishing to the multitude. The people, to express their abhorrence against the cruelty of the priests, raised a monument of stones on the place of his execution; and as fast as the stones were removed by order of the clergy, they were again supplied from the voluntary zeal of the populace. It is in vain for men to oppose the severest punishment to the united motives of religion and public applause; and this was the last barbarity of the kind which the catholics had the power to exercise in Scotland.

Some time after, the people discovered their senti-

ments in such a manner as was sufficient to progn.ticate to the priests the fate which was awaiting them. It was usual on the festival of St. Giles, the tutelar saint of Edinburgh, to carry in procession the image of that saint; but the protestants, in order to prevent the ceremony, found means, on the eve of the festival, to purloin the statue from the church; and they pleased themselves with imagining the surprise and disappointment of his votaries. The clergy, however, framed hastily a new image, which, in derision, was called by the people young St. Giles; and they carried it through the streets, attended by all the ecclesiastics in the town and neighbourhood. The multitude abstained from violence so long as the queen regent continued a spectator, but the moment she retired, they invaded the idol, threw it in the mire, and broke it in pieces. The flight and terror of the priests and friars, who, it was remarked, deserted in this greatest distress the object of their worship, was the source of universal mockery and laughter.

Encouraged by all these appearances, the Congregation proceeded with alacrity in openly soliciting subscriptions to their league; and the death of Mary of England, with the accession of Elizabeth, which happened about this time, contributed to increase their hopes of final success in their undertaking. They ventured to present a petition to the regent, craving a reformation of the church, and of the *wicked*, *scandalous*, and *detestable* lives of the prelates and ecclesiastics. They framed a petition, which they intended to present to parliament, and in which, after premising that they could not communicate with the damnable idolatry and intolerable abuses of the papistical church, they desired that the laws against heretics should be executed by the civil magistrate alone, and that the scripture should be the sole rule in judging of heresy. They even petitioned the convocation, and insisted that prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue, and that bishops should be chosen with the consent of the gentry of the diocese,

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and priests with the consent of the parishioners. The regent prudently temporized between these parties; and as she aimed at procuring a matrimonial crown for her son-in-law, the dauphin, she was, on that as well as other accounts, unwilling to come to extremities with either of them.

But after this concession was obtained, she received orders from France, probably dictated by the violent spirit of her brothers, to proceed with rigour against the reformers, and to restore the royal authority by some signal act of power. She made the more eminent of the protestant teachers be cited to appear before the council at Stirling; but when their followers were marching thither in great multitudes, in order to protect and countenance them, she entertained apprehensions of an insurrection, and, it is said, dissipated the people by a promise,* that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the ministers. Sentence, however, was passed, by which all the ministers were pronounced rebels, on account of their not appearing: A measure which enraged the people, and made them resolve to oppose the regent's authority by force of arms, and to proceed to extremities against the clergy of the established religion.

In this critical time, John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had passed some years in banishment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the highest fanaticism of his sect, augmented by the ma-

* Knox. 127. We shall hereafter have some reason to suspect, that perhaps no express promise was ever given. Calumnies chiefly arise during times of faction, especially those of the religious kind, when men think every art lawful for promoting their purpose. The congregation, in their manifesto, in which they enumerate all the articles of the regent's mal-administration, do not reproach her with this breach of promise. It was probably nothing but a rumour spread abroad to catch the populace. If the papists have sometimes maintained, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, their adversaries seem to have thought, that no truth ought to be told of idolaters.

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tive ferocity of his own character. He had been invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation; and mounting the pulpit at Perth, during the present ferment of men's minds, he declaimed with his usual vehemence against the idolatry and other abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert their utmost zeal for its subversion. A priest was so imprudent after this sermon, as to open his repository of images and reliques, and prepare himself to say mass. The audience, exalted to a disposition for any furious enterprise, were as much enraged as if the spectacle had not been quite familiar to them: They attacked the priest with fury, broke the images in pieces, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, scattered about the sacred vases; and left no implement of idolatrous worship, as they termed it, entire or undefaced. They thence proceeded, with additional numbers and augmented rage, to the monasteries of the grey and black friars, which they pillaged in an instant: The Carthusians underwent the same fate: and the populace, not content with robbing and expelling the monks, vented their fury on the buildings which had been the receptacles of such abomination; and in a little time nothing but the walls of these edifices were left standing. The inhabitants of Couper in Fife soon after imitated the example.

The queen-regent, provoked at these violences, assembled an army, and prepared to chastise the rebels. She had about two thousand French under her command, with a few Scottish troops; and being assisted by such of the nobility as were well affected to her, she pitched her camp within ten miles of Perth. Even the earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the queen's natural brother, though deeply engaged with the reformers, attended the regent in this enterprise, either because they blamed the fury of the populace, or hoped, by their own influence and authority, to mediate some agreement between the parties. The Congregation, on the other hand, made preparations for defence; and being joined by the earl of Glencarne from

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the weſt, and being countenanced by many of the nobility and gentry, they appeared formidable from their numbers, as well as from the zeal by which they were animated. They ſent an addreſs to the regent, where they plainly inſinuated, that if they were purſued to extremities by the *cruel beaſts*, the churchmen, they would have recourſe to foreign powers for aſſiſtance; and they ſubſcribed themſelves her faithful ſubjects in all things not repugnant to God, aſſuming, at the ſame time, the name of the faithful congregation of Chriſt Jeſus. They applied to the nobility attending her, and maintained, that their own paſt violences were juſtified by the word of God, which commands the godly to deſtroy idolatry and all the monuments of it; and though all civil authority was ſacred, yet was there a great difference between the authority and the perſons who exerciſed it; and that it ought to be conſidered, whether or not thoſe abominations, called by the peſtilent papiſts, Religion, and which they defend by fire and ſword, be the true religion of Chriſt Jeſus. They remonſtrated with ſuch of the queen's army as had formerly embraced their party, and told them, "That as they were already reputed "traitors by God, they ſhould likewiſe be excommu- "nicated from their ſociety, and from the participation "of the ſacraments of the church, which God by his "mighty power had erected among them; whoſe mi- "niſters have the ſame authority which Chriſt granted "to his apoſtles in theſe words, *Whoſe ſins ye ſhall for- "give ſhall be forgiven, and whoſe ſins ye ſhall retain "ſhall be retained*." We may here ſee, that theſe new ſaints were no leſs lofty in their pretenſions than the ancient hierarchy: No wonder they were enraged againſt the latter as their rivals in dominion. They joined to all theſe declarations, an addreſs to the eſtabliſhed church; and they affixed this title to it: "To the ge- "neration of Antichriſt, the peſtilent prelates and their "*ſhavelings* in Scotland, the Congregation of Chriſt "Jeſus within the ſame ſayeth." The tenor of the manifeſto was ſuitable to the title. They told the eccleſiaſtics,

diſſaſſies, " As ye by tyranny intend not only to de-
" ſtroy our bodies, but alſo by the ſame to hold our
" ſouls in bondage of the devil, ſubject to idolatry; ſo
" ſhall we, with all the force and power which God ſhall
" grant unto us, execute juſt vengeance and puniſhment
" upon you: Yea, we ſhall begin that ſame war which
" God commanded Iſrael to execute againſt the Ca-
" naanites; that is, contract of peace ſhall never be
" made, till you deſiſt from your open idolatry and
" cruel perſecution of God's children. And this, in
" the name of the eternal God, and of his ſon Chriſt
" Jeſus, whoſe verity we profeſs, and goſpel we have
" preached, and holy ſacraments rightly admi-
" niſtered, we ſignify unto you, to be our intent,
" ſo far as God will aſſiſt us to withſtand your idolatry.
" Take this for warning, and be not deceived." With
theſe outrageous ſymptoms, commenced in Scotland that
cant, hypocriſy, and fanaticiſm, which long infeſted that
kingdom, and which, though now mollified by the le-
nity of the civil power, is ſtill ready to break out on all
occaſions.

The queen regent, finding ſuch obſtinate zeal in the
rebels, was content to embrace the counſels of Argyle and
the prior of St. Andrews, and to form an accommodation
with them. She was received into Perth, which ſubmitted,
on her promiſing an indemnity for paſt offences, and en-
gaging not to leave any French garriſon in the place. Com-
plaints, ill-founded, immediately aroſe concerning the in-
fraction of this capitulation. Some of the inhabitants,
it was pretended were moleſted on account of the late
violences, and ſome companies of Scotch ſoldiers, ſup-
poſed to be in French pay, were quartered in the town;
which ſtep, though taken on very plauſible grounds, was
loudly exclaimed againſt by the Congregation. It is
aſſerted, that the regent to juſtify theſe meaſures, de-
clared that princes ought not to have their promiſes too
ſtrictly urged upon them; nor was any faith to be kept
with heretics: And for her part, could ſhe find as good
a colour, ſhe would willingly believe all theſe men of

them

their lives and fortunes. But it is no wife likely that ſuch expreſſions ever dropped from this prudent and virtuous princeſs. On the contrary, it appears, that all theſe violences were diſagreeable to her; that ſhe was in this particular over-ruled by the authority of the French counſellors placed about her; and that ſhe often thought, if the management of thoſe affairs had been entruſted wholly to herſelf, ſhe could eaſily, without force, have accommodated all differences *.

The congregation, inflamed with their own zeal, and enraged by theſe diſappointments, remained not long in tranquillity. Even before they left Perth, and while as yet they had no colour to complain of any violation of treaty, they had ſigned a new covenant, in which, beſides their engagements to mutual defence, they vowed, in the name of God, to employ their whole power in deſtroying every thing that diſhonoured his holy name; and this

* Spotſwood, p. 146. Melvil, p. 29. Knox, p. 225, 228. Leſly, lib. x. That there was really no violation of the capitulation of Perth, appears from the manifeſto of the congregation in Knox, p. 184. in which it is not ſo much as pretended. The companies of Scotch ſoldiers were probably in Scotch pay, ſince the congregation complains, that the country was oppreſſed with taxes to maintain armies. Knox, p. 164, 165. And even if they had been in French pay, it had been no breach of the capitulation, ſince they were national troops, not French. Knox does not ſay, p. 139, that any of the inhabitants of Perth were tried or puniſhed for their paſt offences; but only that they were oppreſſed with the quartering of ſoldiers: And the congregation, in their manifeſto, ſay only that many of them had fled for fear. This plain detection of the calumny, with regard to the breach of the capitulation of Perth, may make us ſuſpect a like calumny with regard to the pretended promiſe not to give ſentence againſt the miniſters. The affair lay altogether between the regent and the laird of Dun; and that gentleman, though a man of ſenſe and character, might be willing to take ſome general profeſſions for promiſes. If the queen, overawed by the power of the congregation, gave ſuch a promiſe in order to have liberty to proceed to a ſentence; how could ſhe expect to have power to execute a ſentence ſo inſidiouſly obtained? And to what purpoſe could it ſerve?

covenant was subscribed, among others, by Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews. These two leaders now desired no better pretence for deserting the regent, and openly joining their associates, than the complaints, however doubtful, or rather false of her breach of promise. The Congregation also, encouraged by this accession of force, gave themselves up entirely to the furious zeal of Knox, and renewed at Crail, Anstruther, and other places in Fife, like depredations on the churches and monasteries with those formerly committed at Perth and Couper. The regent, who marched against them with her army, finding their power so much increased, was glad to conclude a truce for a few days, and to pass over with her forces to the Lothians. The reformers besieged and took Perth; proceeded thence to Stirling, where they exercised their usual fury; finding nothing able to resist them, they bent their march to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which, as they had already anticipated the zeal of the Congregation against the churches and monasteries, gladly opened their gates to them. The regent, with a few forces which remained with her, took shelter in Dunbar, where she fortified herself, in expectation of a reinforcement from France.

Meanwhile, she employed her partisans in representing to the people the dangerous consequences of this open rebellion; and she endeavoured to convince them, that the lord James, under pretence of religion, had formed the scheme of wresting the sceptre from the hands of the sovereign. By these considerations many were engaged to desert the army of the Congregation; but much more by the want of pay or any means of subsistence; and the regent, observing the malcontents to be much weakened, ventured to march to Edinburgh, with a design of suppressing them. On the interposition of the duke of Chatelrault, who still adhered to her, she agreed to a capitulation, in which she granted them a toleration of their religion, and they engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches. Soon after they evacuated the

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city; and before they left it, they proclaimed the articles of agreement; but they took care to publish only the articles favourable to themselves, and they were guilty of an imposture, in adding one to the number, namely, that idolatry should not again be erected in any place where it was at that time suppressed *.

An agreement, concluded while men were in this disposition, could not be durable; and both sides endeavoured to strengthen themselves as much as possible, against the ensuing rupture, which appeared inevitable. The regent, having got a reinforcement of a thousand men from France, began to fortify Leith; and the Congregation seduced to their party the duke of Chatelrault, who had long appeared inclined to join them, and who was at last determined, by the arrival of his son, the earl of Arran, from France, where he had escaped many dangers, from the jealousy, as well as bigotry, of Henry and the duke of Guise. More French troops soon after disembarked, under the command of La Brosse, who was followed by the bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne. These last were supplied with store of syllogisms, authorities, citations and scholastic arguments, which they intended to oppose to the Scottish preachers, and which, they justly presumed, would acquire force, and produce conviction, by the influence of the French arms and artillery.

The constable Montmorency had always opposed the marriage of the dauphin with the queen of Scots, and had foretold, that, by forming such close connexions with Scotland, the ancient league would be dissolved; and the natives of that kingdom, jealous of a foreign yoke,

* Knox, p 153, 154, 155. This author pretends that this article was agreed to verbally, but that the queen's scribes omitted it in the treaty which was signed. The story is very unlikely, or rather very absurd; and in the mean time it is allowed that the article is not in the treaty; nor do the Congregation, in their subsequent manifesto, insist upon it. Knox p. 184. Besides, would the queen regent, in an article of a treaty, call her own religion idolatry?

would soon become, instead of allies attached by interest and inclination, the most inveterate enemies to the French government. But though the event seemed now to have justified the prudence of that aged minister, it is not improbable, considering the violent counsels by which France was governed, that the insurrection was deemed a favourable event; as affording a pretence for sending over armies, for entirely subduing the country, for attainting the rebels, and for preparing means thence to invade England, and support Mary's titles to the crown of that kingdom. The leaders of the Congregation well acquainted with these views, were not insensible of their danger, and saw that their only safety consisted in the vigour and success of their measures. They were encouraged by the intelligence received of the sudden death of Henry II. and having passed an act by their own authority, depriving the queen dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to evacuate the kingdom, they collected forces to put their edict in execution against them. They again became masters of Edinburgh: but found themselves unable to keep long possession of that city. Their tumultuary armies, assembled in haste, and, supported by no pay, soon separated upon the least disaster, or even any delay of success; and were incapable of resisting such veteran troops as the French, who were also seconded by some of the Scottish nobility, among whom the earl of Bothwel distinguished himself. Hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf, brother to the regent, was levying an army against them in Germany, they thought themselves excusable for applying, in this extremity, to the assistance of England; and as the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to national liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against that kingdom, this measure was the result of inclination, no less than of interest *. Maitland of Liding-

* The Scotch lords, in their declaration, say, "How far "we have sought support of England, or of any other prince, "and what just cause we have had, and have so to do, we "shall shortly make manifest unto the world, to the praise of God's

ton, therefore, and Robert Melvil, were secretly dispatched by the Congregation to solicit succours from Elizabeth.

The wise council of Elizabeth did not long deliberate in agreeing to this request, which concurred so well with the views and interests of their mistress. Cecil, in particular, represented to the queen, that the union of the crowns of Scotland and France, both of them the hereditary enemies of England, was ever regarded as a pernicious event; and her father, as well as the protector Somerset, had employed every expedient, both of war and negotiation to prevent it: That the claim, which Mary advanced to the crown, rendered the present situation of England still more dangerous, and demanded, on the part of the queen, the greatest vigilance and precaution: That the capacity, ambition, and exorbitant views of the family of Guise, who now governed the French counsels, were sufficiently known; and they themselves made no secret of their design to place their niece on the throne of England: That deeming themselves secure of success, they had already, somewhat imprudently and prematurely, taken off the mask; and Throgmorton, the English ambassador at Paris, sent over, by every courier, incontestible proofs of their hostile intentions: That they only waited till Scotland should be entirely subdued; and having thus deprived the English of the advantages resulting from their situation and naval power, they prepared means for subverting the queen's authority: That the zealous catholics in England, discontented with the present government, and satisfied in the legality of Mary's title, would bring them considerable reinforcements, and would disturb every measure of defence against that

" God's holy name, and to the confusion of all those that slander us for so doing: For this we fear not to confess, that " as in this enterprise against the devil, against idolatry and " the maintainers of the same, we chiefly and only seek God's " glory to be notified unto men, sin to be punished, and virtue to be maintained: so where power faileth of ourselves, " we will seek it whersoever God shall offer the same." Knox, p. 176.

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formidable power: That the only expedient for preventing these designs was to seize the present opportunity, and take advantage of a like zeal in the protestants of Scotland; nor could any doubt be entertained with regard to the justice of a measure, founded on such evident necessity, and directed only to the ends of self-preservation: That though a French war, attended with great expence, seemed the necessary consequence of supporting the malcontents of Scotland, that power, if removed to the continent, would be much less formidable: and a small disbursement at present would in the end be found the greatest frugality: And that the domestic dissentions of France, which every day augmented, together with the alliance of Philip, who, notwithstanding his bigotry and hypocrisy, would never permit the entire conquest of England, were sufficient to secure the queen against the dangerous ambition and resentment of the house of Guise.

Elizabeth's propensity to caution and œconomy was, though with some difficulty, overcome by these powerful motives: and she prepared herself to support, by arms and money, the declining affairs of the Congregation in Scotland. She equipped a fleet, which consisted of thirteen ships of war; and giving the command of it to Winter, she sent it to the Frith of Forth: She appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties, and she assembled at Berwic an army of eight thousand men under the command of lord Grey, warden of the east and middle marches. Though the court of France, sensible of the danger, offered her to make immediate restitution of Calais, provided she would not interpose in the affairs of Scotland; she resolutely replied, that she never would put an inconsiderable fishing-town in competition with the safety of her dominions; and she full continued her preparations. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the Congregation, which was to last during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after; and she promised never to desist till the

French

French had entirely evacuated Scotland. And having thus taken all proper meaſures for ſucceſs, and received from the Scots ſix hoſtages for the performance of articles, ſhe ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations.

1560. The appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the Frith diſconcerted the French army, who were at that time ravaging the county of Fife; and obliged them to make a circuit by Stirling, in order to reach Leith, where they prepared themſelves for defence. The Engliſh army, reinforced by five thouſand Scots, ſat down before the place; and after two ſkirmiſhes, in the former of which the Engliſh had the advantage, in the latter the French, they began to batter the town; and, though repulſed with conſiderable loſs in a raſh and ill-conducted aſſault, they reduced the garriſon to great difficulties. Their diſtreſs was augmented by two events; the diſperſion by a ſtorm of d'Elbeuf's fleet, which carried a conſiderable army on board, and the death of the queen-regent, who expired about this time in the caſtle of Edinburgh; a woman endowed with all the capacity which ſhone forth in her family, but poſſeſſed of much more virtue and moderation than appeared in the conduct of the other branches of it. The French, who found it impoſſible to ſubſiſt for want of proviſions, and who ſaw, that the Engliſh were continually reinforced by freſh numbers, were obliged to capitulate: And the biſhop of Valence and count Randan, plenipotentiaries from France, ſigned a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had ſent thither for that purpoſe. It was there ſtipulated, that the French ſhould inſtantly evacuate Scotland; that the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould thenceforth abſtain from bearing the arms of England, or aſſuming the title of that kingdom; that farther ſatisfaction for the injury already done in that particular ſhould be granted Elizabeth; and the commiſſioners ſhould meet to ſettle this point, or if they could not agree, that the king of Spain ſhould be

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umpire between the crowns. Beſides theſe ſtipulations, which regarded England, ſome conceſſions were granted to the Scots; namely, that an amneſty ſhould be publiſhed for all paſt offences: that none but natives ſhould enjoy any office in Scotland; that the ſtates ſhould name twenty-four perſons, of whom the queen of Scots ſhould chuſe ſeven, and the ſtates five, and in the hands of theſe twelve ſhould the whole adminiſtration be placed during the queen's abſence; and that Mary ſhould neither make peace nor war without conſent of the ſtates. In order to haſten the execution of this important treaty, Elizabeth ſent ſhips, by which the French forces were tranſported into their own country.

Thus Europe ſaw, in the firſt tranſaction of this reign, the genius and capacity of the queen and her miniſters. She diſcerned at a diſtance the danger which threatened her; and inſtantly took vigorous meaſures to prevent it. Making all poſſible advantages of her ſituation, ſhe proceeded with celerity to a deciſion; and was not diverted by any offers, negotiations, or remonſtrances of the French court. She ſtopped not till ſhe had brought the matter to a final iſſue; and had converted that very power, to which her enemies truſted for her deſtruction, into her firmeſt ſupport and ſecurity. By exacting no improper conditions from the Scottiſh malcontents, even during their greateſt diſtreſſes, ſhe eſtabliſhed an entire confidence with them; and having cemented the union by all the ties of gratitude, intereſt, and religion, ſhe now poſſeſſed an influence over them beyond what remained even with their native ſovereign. The regard, which ſhe acquired by this dexterous and ſpirited conduct, gave her every where, abroad as well as at home, more authority than had attended her ſiſter, though ſupported by all the power of the Spaniſh monarchy.

The ſubſequent meaſures of the Scottiſh reformers tended ſtill more to cement their union with England. Being now entirely maſters of the kingdom, they made

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no farther ceremony or ſcruple in fully effecting their purpoſe. In the treaty of Edinburgh it had been agreed, that a parliament or convention ſhould ſoon be aſſembled; and the leaders of the Congregation, not waiting till the queen of Scots ſhould ratify that treaty, thought themſelves fully entitled, without the ſovereign's authority, immediately to ſummon a parliament. The reformers preſented a petition to this aſſembly; in which they were not contented with deſiring the eſtabliſhment of their doctrine; they alſo applied for the puniſhment of the catholics, whom they called vaſſals to the Roman harlot; and they aſſerted, that among all the rabble of the clergy, ſuch is their expreſſion, there was not one lawful miniſter; but that they were, all of them, thieves and murderers; yea, rebels and traitors to civil authority; and therefore unworthy to be ſuffered in any reformed commonwealth. The parliament ſeem to have been actuated by the ſame ſpirit of rage and perſecution. After ratifying a confeſſion of faith agreeable to the new doctrines, they paſſed a ſtatute againſt the maſs, and not only aboliſhed it in all the churches, but enacted, that whoever, any where, either officiated in it, or was preſent at it, ſhould be chaſtiſed, for the firſt offence, with confiſcation of goods and corporal puniſhment, at the diſcretion of the magiſtrate; for the ſecond, with baniſhment; and for the third, with loſs of life. A law was alſo voted for aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction in Scotland: The preſbyterian form of diſcipline was ſettled, leaving only at firſt ſome ſhadow of authority to certain eccleſiaſtics, whom they called Superintendants. The prelates of the ancient faith appeared, in order to complain of great injuſtice committed on them by the invaſion of their property, but the parliament took no notice of them; till, at laſt, theſe eccleſiaſtics, tired with fruitleſs attendance, departed the town. They were then cited to appear; and as nobody preſented himſelf, it was voted by the parliament, that the eccleſiaſtics were entirely ſatisfied, and found no reaſon of complaint.

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Sir James Sandilands, prior of St. John, was sent over to France to obtain the ratification of these acts; but was very ill received by Mary, who denied the validity of a parliament summoned without the royal consent; and she refused her sanction to those statutes. But the protestants gave themselves little concern about their queen's refusal. They immediately put the statutes in execution: They abolished the mass; they settled their ministers; they committed every where furious devastations on the monasteries, and even on the churches, which they thought profaned by idolatry; and deeming the property of the clergy lawful prize, they took possession, without ceremony, of the far greater part of the ecclesiastical revenues. Their new preachers, who had authority sufficient to incite them to war and insurrection, could not restrain their rapacity; and fanaticism concurring with avarice, an incurable wound was given to the papal authority in that country. The protestant nobility and gentry, united by the consciousness of such unpardonable guilt, alarmed for their new possessions, well acquainted with the imperious character of the house of Guise, saw no safety for themselves but in the protection of England; and they dispatched Morton, Glencairne, and Lidington to express their sincere gratitude to the queen for her past favours, and represent to her the necessity of continuing them.

Elizabeth, on her part, had equal reason to maintain an union with the Scottish protestants: and soon found that the house of Guise, notwithstanding their former disappointments, had not laid aside the design of contesting her title, and subverting her authority. Francis and Mary, whose counsels were wholly directed by them, refused to gratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and showed no disposition to give her any satisfaction for that mortal affront, which they had put upon her, by their openly assuming the title and arms of England. She was sensible of the danger attending such pretensions; and it was with pleasure she heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the French government, and

and of the oppoſition which had ariſen againſt the meaſures of the duke of Guiſe. That ambitious prince, ſupported by his four brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the grand prior, men no leſs ambitious than himſelf, had engroſſed all the authority of the crown; and as he was poſſeſſed of every quality which could command the eſteem, or ſeduce the affections of men, there appeared no end of his acquiſitions and pretenſions. The conſtable, Montmorency, who had long balanced his credit, was deprived of all power: The princes of the blood, the king of Navarre, and his brother, the prince of Condé, were entirely excluded from offices and favour: The queen-mother herſelf, Catherine de Medicis, found her influence every day declining: And as Francis, a young prince, infirm both in mind and body, was wholly governed by his conſort, who knew no law but the pleaſure of her uncles, men deſpaired of ever obtaining freedom from the dominion of that aſpiring family. It was the conteſts of religion which firſt inſpired the French with courage openly to oppoſe their unlimited authority.

The theological diſputes, firſt ſtarted in the north of Germany, next in Switzerland, countries at that time wholly illiterate, had long ago penetrated into France; and as they were aſſiſted by the general diſcontent againſt the court and church of Rome, and by the zealous ſpirit of the age, the proſelytes to the new religion were ſecretly increaſing in every province. Henry II. in imitation of his father Francis, had oppoſed the progreſs of the reformers; and though a prince addicted to pleaſure and ſociety, he was tranſported by a vehemence, as well as bigotry, which had little place in the conduct of his predeceſſor. Rigorous puniſhments had been inflicted on the moſt eminent of the proteſtant party; and a point of honour ſeemed to have ariſen, whether the one ſect could exerciſe, or the other ſuffer, moſt barbarity. The death of Henry put ſome ſtop to the perſecutions; and the people, who had admired the con-

conſtancy of the new preachers, now heard with favour their doctrines and arguments. But the cardinal of Lorraine, as well as his brothers, who were poſſeſſed of the legal authority, thought it their intereſt to ſupport the eſtabliſhed religion; and when they revived the execution of the penal ſtatutes, they neceſſarily drove the malcontent princes and nobles to embrace the protection of the new religion. The king of Navarre, a man of mild diſpoſitions, but of a weak character, and the prince of Condé, who poſſeſſed many great qualities, having declared themſelves in favour of the proteſtants, that ſect acquired new force from their countenance; and the admiral, Coligni, with his brother Andelot, no longer ſcrupled to make open profeſſion of their communion. The integrity of the admiral, who was believed ſincere in his attachment to the new doctrine, and his great reputation both for valour and conduct, for the arts of peace as well as of war, brought credit to the reformers; and after a fruſtrated attempt of the malcontents to ſeize the king's perſon at Amboiſe, of which Elizabeth had probably ſome intelligence*, every place was full of diſtraction, and matters haſtened to an open rupture between the parties. But the houſe of Guiſe, though theſe factions had obliged them to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cauſe of Elizabeth's ſucceſs, were determined not to relinquiſh their authority in France, or yield to the violence of their enemies. They found an opportunity of ſeizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they threw the former into priſon; they obtained a ſentence of death againſt the latter; and they were proceeding to put the ſentence into execution, when the king's ſudden death ſaved the noble priſoner, and interrupted the proſperity of the duke of Guiſe. The queen-mother was appointed regent to her ſon Charles IX.

* Forbes, vol. i. p. 214. Throgmorton, about this time, unwilling to entruſt to letters the great ſecrets committed to him, obtained leave, under ſome pretext, to come over to London.

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now in his minority: The king of Navarre was named lieutenant general of the kingdom: The ſentence againſt Condé was annulled: The conſtable was recalled to court: And the family of Guiſe, though they ſtill enjoyed great offices and great power, found a counterpoiſe to their authority.

1561. Elizabeth was determined to make advantage of theſe events againſt the queen of Scots, whom ſhe ſtill regarded as a dangerous rival. She ſaw herſelf freed from the perils attending a union of Scotland with France, and from the pretenſions of ſo powerful a prince as Francis; but ſhe conſidered, at the ſame time, that the Engliſh catholics, who were numerous, and who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, would now adhere to that princeſs, with more zealous attachment, when they ſaw that her ſucceſſion no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom, and was rather attended with the advantage of effecting an entire union with Scotland. She gave orders, therefore, to her ambaſſador, Throgmorton, a vigilant and able miniſter, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. But though Mary had deſiſted, after her huſband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, ſhe ſtill declined gratifying Elizabeth in this momentous article; and being ſwayed by the ambitious ſuggeſtions of her uncles, ſhe refuſed to make any formal renunciation of her pretenſions.

Meanwhile, the queen-mother of France, who imputed to Mary, all the mortifications, which ſhe had met with, during Francis's life-time took care to retaliate on her by like injuries; and the queen of Scots, finding her abode in France, diſagreeable, began to think of returning to her native country. Lord James, who had been ſent in deputation from the ſtates, to invite her over, ſeconded theſe intentions; and ſhe applied to Elizabeth, by D'Oiſel, for a ſafe-conduct, in caſe ſhe ſhould be obliged to paſs through England: But ſhe received for anſwer, that, till ſhe had given ſatisfac-

tion, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour, from a person whom she had so much injured. This denial, excited her indignation; and she made no scruple of expressing her sentiments, to Throgmorton, when he reiterated his applications, to gratify his mistress in a demand, which he represented as so reasonable. Having cleared the room of her attendants, she said to him, "How weak I may prove, "or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, "I cannot tell: However, I am resolved not to have "so many witnesses of my infirmity as your mistress "had at her audience of my ambassador D'Oisel. "There is nothing disturbs me so much, as the having "asked, with so much importunity, a favour which it "was of no consequence for me to obtain. I can, "with God's leave, return to my own country with-"out *her* leave; as I came to France, in spite of all "the opposition of her brother, king Edward: Nei-"ther do I want friends, both able, and willing to con-"duct me home, as they have brought me hither; "though I was desirous rather to make an experiment "of your mistress's friendship, than of the assistance of "any other person. I have often heard you say, that, "a good correspondence, between her and myself, "would conduce much to the security, and happiness "of both our kingdoms: Were she well convinced of "this truth, she would hardly have denied me so small "a request. But, perhaps, she bears a better inclina-"tion to my rebellious subjects, than to me, their so-"vereign, her equal in royal dignity, her near rela-"tion, and the undoubted heir of her kingdoms. Be-"sides, her friendship, I ask nothing at her hands: I "neither trouble her, nor concern myself, in the affairs "of her state: Not that I am ignorant, that there are "now in England, a great many malcontents, who "are no friends to the present establishment. She is "pleased to upbraid me as a person, little experienced "in the world: I freely own it; but age will cure that "defect. However, I am already old enough to ac-

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" quit myſelf honeſtly and courteouſly to my friends " and relations, and to encourage, no reports of your " miſtreſs, which would miſbecome a queen and her " kinſwoman. I would alſo ſay, by her leave, that I " am a queen as well as ſhe, and not altogether friend- " leſs: And, perhaps, I have as great a ſoul too; ſo " that methinks, we ſhould be upon a level in our " treatment of each other. As ſoon as I have conſult- " ed the ſtates of my kingdom, I ſhall be ready to give " her a reaſonable anſwer; and I am the more intent " on my journey, in order to make the quicker diſ- " patch in this affair. But ſhe, it ſeems, intends to " ſtop my journey; ſo that either ſhe will not let me " give her ſatisfaction, or is reſolved not to be ſatisfi- " ed; perhaps, on purpoſe to keep up the diſagree- " ment between us. She has often reproached me with " my being young; and I muſt be very young indeed, " and as ill-adviſed, to treat of matters of ſuch great " concern and importance, without the advice of my " parliament. I have not been wanting in all friendly " offices to her; but ſhe diſbelieves or overlooks them. " I could heartily wiſh, that I were as nearly allied " to her in affection as in blood: For that, indeed, " would be a moſt valuable alliance."

Such a ſpirited reply, notwithſtanding the obliging terms interſperſed in it, was but ill fitted to conciliate friendſhip between theſe rival princeſſes, or cure thoſe mutual jealouſies which had already taken place. Elizabeth equipped a fleet, on pretence of purſuing pirates, but probably with an intention of intercepting the queen of Scots in her return homewards. Mary embarked at Calais; and paſſing the Engliſh fleet in a fog, arrived ſafely at Leith, attended by her three uncles, the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbeuf, together with the marquis of Damville, and other French courtiers. This change of abode and ſituation was very little agreeable to that princeſs. Beſides her natural prepoſſeſſions in favour of a country in which ſhe had been educated from her earlieſt infancy, and

where she had borne so high a rank, she could not forbear both regretting the society of that people, so celebrated for their humane disposition, and their respectful attachment to their sovereign, and reflecting on the disparity of the scene which lay before her. It is said that, after she was embarked at Calais, she kept her eyes fixed on the coast of France, and never turned them from that beloved object, till darkness fell, and intercepted it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be spread for her in the open air; and charged the pilot, that if in the morning, the land was still in sight, he should awake her, and afford her one parting view of that country, in which all her affections were centered. The weather proved calm, so that the ship made little way in the night-time: And Mary had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat upon her couch, and still looking towards the land, often repeated these words: "Farewell France, fare-"well: I shall never see thee more." The first aspect, however, of things in Scotland was more favourable, if not to her pleasure and happiness, at least to her repose and security, than she had reason to apprehend. No sooner did the French gallies appear off Leith, than people of all ranks, who had long expected their arrival, flocked toward the shore, with an earnest impatience to behold and receive their young sovereign. Some were led by duty, some by interest, some by curiosity; and all combined to express their attachment to her, and to insinuate themselves into her confidence, on the commencement of her administration. She had now reached her nineteenth year; and the bloom of her youth, and amiable beauty of her person, were farther recommended by the affability of her address, the politeness of her manners, and the elegance of her genius. Well accomplished in all the superficial, but engaging graces of a court, she afforded, when better known, still more promising indications of her character; and men prognosticated, both humanity from her soft and obliging deportment, and penetration from her taste in all the refined

fined arts of muſic, eloquence, and poetry. And as the Scots, had long been deprived of the preſence of their ſovereign, whom they once deſpaired ever more to behold among them, her arrival ſeemed to give univerſal ſatisfaction; and nothing appeared about the court, but ſymptoms of affection, joy, and feſtivity.

The firſt meaſures which Mary embraced confirmed all the prepoſſeſſions entertained in her favour. She followed the advice given her in France, by D'Oiſel, and the biſhop of Amiens, as well as her uncles; and ſhe beſtowed her confidence, entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had greateſt influence over the people, and who, ſhe found, were alone able to ſupport her government. Her brother, lord James, whom ſhe ſoon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and after him Lidington, ſecretary of ſtate, a man of great ſagacity, had a principal ſhare in her confidence. By the vigour of theſe men's meaſures ſhe endeavoured to eſtabliſh order and juſtice in a country divided by public factions, and private feuds; and that fierce, intractable people, unacquainted with laws and obedience, ſeemed, for a time, to ſubmit peaceably to her gentle and prudent adminiſtration.

But there was one circumſtance, which blaſted all theſe promiſing appearances, and bereaved Mary of that general favour, which her agreeable manners and judicious deportment, gave her juſt reaſon to expect. She was ſtill a papiſt; and though ſhe publiſhed ſoon after her arrival, a proclamation, enjoining every one to ſubmit to the eſtabliſhed religion, the preachers, and their adherents, could neither be reconciled to a perſon polluted with ſo great an abomination, nor lay aſide their jealouſies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty ſhe could obtain permiſſion, for ſaying maſs in her own chapel; and had not the people apprehended that, if ſhe had here met with a refuſal, ſhe would inſtantly have returned to France, the zealots never would have granted her even that ſmall indulgence. The cry was, "Shall we ſuffer that idol to be again

"erected within the realm?" It was asserted in the pulpit, that one mass, was more terrible than ten thousand armed men landed to invade the kingdom; lord Lindesey, and the gentlemen of Fife, exclaimed, "That "the idolator should die the death;" such was their expression. One that carried tapers for the ceremony of that worship, was attacked, and insulted in the court of the palace. And if lord James, and some popular leaders, had not interposed, the most dangerous uproar was justly apprehended, from the ungoverned fury of the multitude. The usual prayers in the churches were to this purpose: That God would turn the queen's heart, which was obstinate against him and his truth; or if his holy will, be otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts, and *bands* of the elect, stoutly to oppose the rage of all tyrants. Nay, it was openly called in question, whether that princess, being an idolatress, was entitled to any authority, even in civil matters!

The helpless queen, was every moment exposed to contumely, which she bore with benignity and patience. Soon after her arrival, she dined in the castle of Edinburgh, and it was there contrived, that a boy, six years of age, should be let down from the roof, and should present her with a bible, a psalter, and the keys of the castle. Lest she should be at a loss to understand this insult on her as a papist, all the decorations, expressed the burning of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and other punishments, inflicted by God upon idolatry. The town council of Edinburgh, had the assurance, from their own authority, to issue a proclamation, banishing from their district, "all the wicked rabble of antichrist, "the pope, such as priests, monks, friars, together "with adulterers and fornicators." And because the privy-council, suspended the magistrates for their insolence, the passionate historians of that age, have inferred, that the queen was engaged, by a sympathy of manners, to take adulterers and fornicators, under her protection. It appears probable, that the magistrates, were afterwards reinstated in their office, and that their proclamation was confirmed.

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But all the influence of the people, was inconsiderable in comparison of that which was exercised by the clergy and the preachers, who took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this amiable princess. The assembly of the church, framed an address, in which, after telling her, that her mass was a bastard service of God, the fountain of all impiety, and the source of every evil which abounded in the realm; they expressed their hopes, that she would on this time have preferred truth to her own pre-conceived opinion, and have renounced her religion, which, they assured her, was nothing but abomination and vanity. They said, that the present abuses of government, were so enormous, that, if a speedy remedy was not provided, God would not fail in his anger, to strike the head and the tail, the disobedient prince and sinful people. They required, that severe punishment should be inflicted on adulterers and fornicators. And they concluded, with demanding for themselves, some addition both of power and property. The ringleader, in all these insults on majesty was John Knox; who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was Jezebel; and though she endeavoured, by the most gracious condescension, to win his favour, all her insinuations, could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. She promised him access to her whenever he demanded it; and she even desired him, if he found her blamable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit, before the whole people: But he plainly told her, that he had a public ministry entrusted to him; that if she would come to church, she should there hear the gospel of truth; and that it was not his business, to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure for that occupation. The political principles of the man, which he communicated to his brethren, were as full of sedition, as his theological were of rage and bigotry. Though he once condescended so far as

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to tell the queen, that he would submit to her in the same manner as Paul did to Nero; he remained not long in this dutiful strain. He said to her, that "Samuel "feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of "Amalek, whom king Saul had saved: Neither spared "Elias Jezebel's false prophets, and Baal's priests, "though king Ahab was present. Phineas," added he, "was no magistrate; yet feared he not to strike "Cosbi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication. "And so, Madam, your grace may see, that others "than chief magistrates, may lawfully inflict punish-"ment on such crimes as are condemned by the law "of God." Knox had formerly, during the reign of Mary of England, written a book against female succession to the crown: The title of it is, *The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regimen of women.* He was too proud either to recant the tenets of this book, or even to apologize for them; and this conduct shewed, that he thought no more civility than loyalty due to any of the female sex.

The whole life of Mary was, from the demeanour of these men, filled with bitterness and sorrow. This rustic apostle scruples not, in his history, to inform us, that he once treated her with such severity, that she lost all command of temper, and dissolved in tears before him: Yet so far from being moved with youth and beauty, and royal dignity, reduced to that condition, he persevered in his insolent reproofs; and when he relates this incident, he discovers a visible pride and satisfaction in his own conduct. The pulpits had become mere scenes of railing against the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feasting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant. Some ornaments, which the ladies at that time wore upon their petticoats, excited mightily the indignation of the preachers; and they affirmed, that such vanity would provoke God's vengeance, not only against these foolish women, but against the whole realm.

Mary

Mary, whose age, condition, and education, invited her to liberty and cheerfulness, was curbed in all amusements by the absurd severity of these reformers; and she found every moment reason to regret her leaving that country, from whose manners she had, in her early youth, received the first impressions. Her two uncles, the duke of Aumale, and the grand prior, with the other French nobility, soon took leave of her: The marquis of Elbeuf remained some time longer; but after his departure, she was left to the society of her own subjects; men unacquainted with the pleasures of conversation, ignorant of arts and civility, and corrupted, beyond their usual rusticity, by a dismal fanaticism, which rendered them incapable of all humanity or improvement. Though Mary had made no attempt to restore the ancient religion, her popery was a sufficient crime: Though her behaviour was hitherto irreproachable, and her manners sweet and engaging, her gaiety and ease were interpreted as signs of dissolute vanity. And to the harsh and preposterous usage, which this princess met with, may, in part, be ascribed those errors of her subsequent conduct, which seemed so little of a piece with the general tenor of her character.

There happened to the marquis of Elbeuf, before his departure, an adventure, which, though frivolous, might enable him to give Mary's friends in France a melancholy idea of her situation. This nobleman, with the earl of Bothwel, and some other young courtiers, had been engaged, after a debauch, to pay a visit to a woman called Alison Craig, who was known to be liberal of her favours; and because they were denied admittance, they broke the windows, thrust open the door, and committed some disorders, in searching for the damsel. It happened, that the assembly of the church was sitting at that time, and they immediately took the matter under their cognizance. In conjunction with several of the nobility, they presented an address to the queen, which was introduced with this awful

ful prelude: "To the queen's majesty, and to her se-
"cret and great council, her grace's faithful and obe-
"dient subjects, the professors of Christ Jesus's holy
"evangilist, wish the spirit of righteous judgment."—
The tenor of the petition was, that the fear of God, the duty which they owed her grace, and the terrible threatenings denounced by God against every city or country where horrible crimes were openly committed, compelled them to demand the severe punishment of such as had done what in them lay to kindle the wrath of God against the whole realm: That the iniquity of which they complained, was so heinous and so horrible, that they should esteem themselves accomplices in it, if they had been engaged by wordly fear, or servile complaisance, to pass it over in silence, or bury it in oblivion: That as they owed her grace obedience in the administration of justice, so were they entitled to require of her, in return, the sharp and condign punishment of this enormity, which, they repeated it, might draw down the vengeance of God on the whole kingdom: And that they maintained it to be her duty to lay aside all private affections towards the actors in so heinous a crime, and so enormous a villainy, and without delay bring them to a trial, and inflict the severest penalties upon them. The queen gave a gracious reception to this peremptory address; but because she probably thought, that breaking the windows of a brothel merited not such severe reprehension, she only replied, that her uncle was a stranger, and that he was attended by a young company: But she put such order to him and to all others, that her subjects should henceforth have no reason to complain. Her passing over this incident so slightly was the source of great discontent, and was regarded as a proof of the most profligate manners. It is not to be omitted, that Alison Craig, the cause of all the uproar, was known to entertain a commerce with the earl of Arran, who, on account of his great zeal for the reformation, was, without scruple, indulged in that enormity.

Some

Some of the populace of Edinburgh broke into the queen's chapel during her abſence, and committed outrages; for which two of them were indicted, and it was intended to bring them to a trial. Knox wrote circular letters to the moſt conſiderable zealots of the party, and charged them to appear in town, and protect their brethren. The holy ſacraments, he there ſaid, are abuſed by profane papiſts; the maſs has been ſaid; and in worſhipping that idol, the prieſts have omitted no ceremony, not even the conjuring of their accurſed water, that had ever been practiſed in the time of the greateſt blindneſs. Theſe violent meaſures for oppoſing juſtice were little ſhort of rebellion; and Knox was ſummoned before the council to anſwer for his offence. The courage of the man was equal to his inſolence. He ſcrupled not to tell the queen, that the peſtilent papiſts, who had inflamed her againſt theſe holy men, were the ſons of the devil; and muſt therefore obey the directions of their father, who had been a liar and a manſlayer from the beginning. The matter ended with a full acquittal of Knox. Randolf, the Engliſh ambaſſador in Scotland, had reaſon to write to Cecil, ſpeaking of the Scottiſh nation: "I think marvellouſly "of the wiſdom of God, that gave this unruly, in-"conſtant, and cumberſome people no more power "nor ſubſtance: For they would otherwiſe run wild."

We have related theſe incidents at greater length than the neceſſity of our ſubject may ſeem to require: But even trivial circumſtances, which ſhow the manners of the age, are often more inſtructive, as well as entertaining, than the great tranſactions of wars and negotiations, which are nearly ſimilar in all periods and in all countries of the world.

The reformed clergy in Scotland had, at that time, a very natural reaſon for their ill-humour; namely, the poverty, or rather beggary, to which they were reduced. The nobility and gentry had at firſt laid their hands on all the property of the regular clergy, with-

out making any provision for the friars and nuns, whom they turned out of their possessions. The secular clergy of the catholic communion, though they lost all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, still held some of the temporalities of their benefices; and either became laymen themselves, and converted them into private property, or made conveyance of them at low prices to the nobility, who thus enriched themselves by the plunder of the church. The new teachers had hitherto subsisted chiefly by the voluntary oblations of the faithful; and in a poor country, divided in religious sentiments, this establishment was regarded as very scanty and very precarious. Repeated applications were made for a legal settlement to the preachers; and though almost every thing in the kingdom was governed by their zeal and caprice, it was with difficulty that their request was at last complied with. The fanatical spirit which they indulged, and their industry in decrying their principles and practices of the Romish communion, which placed such merit in enriching the clergy, proved now a very sensible obstacle to their acquisitions. The convention, however, passed a vote, by which they divided all the ecclesiastical benefices into twenty-one shares: They assigned fourteen to the ancient possessors: Of the remaining seven they granted three to the crown; and if that were found to answer the public expences, they bestowed the overplus on the reformed ministers. The queen was empowered to levy all the seven; and it was ordained that she should afterwards pay to the clergy what should be judged to suffice for their maintenance. The necessities of the crown, the rapacity of the courtiers, and the small affection which Mary bore to the protestant ecclesiastics, rendered their revenues contemptible as well as uncertain; and the preachers finding that they could not rival the gentry, or even the middling rank of men, in opulence and plenty, were necessitated to betake themselves to other expedients for supporting their authority. They affected a furious zeal

zeal for religion, morose manners, a vulgar and familiar, yet mysterious cant; and though the liberality of subsequent princes put them afterwards on a better footing with regard to revenue, and thereby corrected in some degree those bad habits; it must be confessed, that, while may other advantages attend presbyterian government, these inconveniencies are not easily separated from the genius of that ecclesiastical polity.

The queen of Scots, destitute of all force, possessing a narrow revenue, surrounded with a factious, turbulent nobility, a bigoted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, soon found, that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to preserve a good correspondence with Elizabeth. Soon after her arrival in Scotland, secretary Lidington was sent to London, in order to pay her compliments to the queen, and express her desire of friendship and a good correspondence; and he received a commission from her, as well as from the nobility of Scotland, to demand as a means of cementing this friendship, that Mary should, by act of parliament or by proclamation (for the difference between these securities was not then deemed very considerable) be declared successor to the crown. No request could be more unreasonable, or made at a more improper juncture.

The queen replied, that Mary had once discovered her intention not to wait for the succession, but had openly, without ceremony or reserve, assumed the title of queen of England, and had pretended a superior right to her throne and kingdom: That though her ambassadors, and those of her husband, the French king, had signed a treaty, in which they renounced that claim, and promised satisfaction for so great an indignity, she was so intoxicated with this imaginary right, that she had rejected the most earnest solicitations, and even, as some endeavoured to persuade her, had incurred some danger in crossing the seas, rather than ratify that equitable treaty: That her partizans every where had still the assurance to insist on her title, and

had presumed to talk of her own birth as illegitimate: That while affairs were on this footing; while a claim thus openly made, so far from being openly renounced, was only suspended till a more favourable opportunity, it would, in her, be the most egregious imprudence to fortify the hands of a pretender to her crown, by declaring her the successor: That no expedient could be worse imagined for cementing friendship than such a declaration; and kings were often found to bear no good will to their successors, even though their own children; much more when the connexion was less intimate, and when such cause of disgust and jealousy had already been given, and indeed was still continued, on the part of Mary: That though she was willing, from the amity which she bore her kinswoman, to ascribe her former pretensions to the advice of others, by whose direction she was then governed; her present refusal to relinquish them could proceed only from her own prepossessions, and was a proof that she still harboured some dangerous designs against her: That it was the nature of all men to be disgusted with the present, to entertain flattering views of futurity, to think their services ill rewarded, to expect a better recompence from the successor; and she should esteem herself scarcely half a sovereign over the English, if they saw her declare her heir, and arm her rival with authority against her own repose and safety: That she knew the inconstant nature of the people; she was acquainted with the present divisions in religion; she was not ignorant that the same party which expected greater favour during the reign of Mary, did also imagine that the title of that princess was superior to her own: That for her part, whatever claims were advanced, she was determined to live and die queen of England; and after her death, it was the business of others to examine who had the best pretensions, either by the laws or by the right of blood, to the succession: That she hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then be found solid; and, considering the injury which she herself had received, it was sufficient

cient indulgence, if she promised, in the mean time, to do nothing which might, in any respect weaken or invalidate it: And that Mary, if her title was really preferable, a point which, for her own part, she had never enquired into, possessed all advantages above her rivals; who, destitute both of present power, and of all support by friends, would only expose themselves to inevitable ruin, by advancing any weak, or even doubtful, pretensions.

These views of the queen were so prudent and judicious, that there was no likelihood of her ever departing from them: But that she might put the matter to a fuller proof, she offered to explain the words of the treaty of Edinburgh, so as to leave no suspicion of their excluding Mary's right of succession; and in this form she again required her to ratify that treaty. Matters at last came to this issue, that Mary agreed to the proposal, and offered to renounce all present pretensions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would agree to declare her the successor. But such was the jealous character of this latter princess, that she never would consent to strengthen the interest and authority of any claimant, by fixing the succession; much less would she make this concession in favour of a rival queen, who possessed such plausible pretensions for the present, and who, though she might verbally renounce them, could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity. Mary's proposal, however, bore so specious an appearance of equity and justice, that Elizabeth, sensible that reason would, by superficial thinkers, be deemed to lie entirely on that side, made no more mention of the matter; and though farther concessions were never made by either princess, they put on all the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other.

The queen observed that, even without her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her own subjects; and, instead of giving Scotland, for the present, any inquietude or disturbance, she

employed herſelf, more uſefully and laudably, in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom, and promoting the happineſs of her people. She made ſome progreſs in paying thoſe great debts which lay upon the crown; ſhe regulated the coin, which had been much debaſed by her predeceſſors; ſhe furniſhed her arſenals with great quantities of arms from Germany and other places; engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and braſs cannon; fortified her frontiers on the ſide of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture, by allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation; and ſo much increaſed the ſhipping of her kingdom, both by building veſſels of force herſelf, and ſuggeſting like undertakings to the merchants, that ſhe was juſtly ſtyled the reſtorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern ſeas. The natural frugality of her temper, ſo far from incapacitating her from theſe great enterpriſes, only enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and ſucceſs; and all the world ſaw in her conduct the happy effects of a vigorous perſeverance in judicious and well-concerted projects. It is eaſy to imagine that ſo great a princeſs, who enjoyed ſuch ſingular felicity and renown, would receive propoſals of marriage from every one that had any likelihood of ſucceeding; and though ſhe had made ſome public declarations in favour of a ſingle life, few believed that ſhe would perſevere for ever in that reſolution. The archduke Charles, ſecond ſon of the emperor, as well as Caſimir, ſon of the elector Palatine, made applications to her; and as this latter prince profeſſed the reformed religion, he thought himſelf on that account better entitled to ſucceed in his addreſſes. Eric king of Sweden, and Adolph duke of Holſtein, were encouraged, by the ſame views, to become ſuitors: And the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was, by the ſtates of that kingdom, recommended to her as a ſuitable marriage. Even ſome of her own ſubjects, though they did not openly declare

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their pretenſions, entertained hopes of ſucceſs. The earl of Arundel, a perſon declining in years, but deſcended from an ancient and noble family, as well as poſſeſſed of great riches, flattered himſelf with this proſpect; as did alſo ſir William Pickering, a man much eſteemed for his perſonal merit. But the perſon moſt likely to ſucceed, was a younger ſon of the late duke of Northumberland, lord Robert Dudley, who, by means of his exterior qualities, joined to addreſs and flattery, had become, in a manner, her declared favourite, and had great influence in all her counſels. The leſs worthy he appeared of this diſtinction, the more was his great favour aſcribed to ſome violent affection, which could thus ſeduce the judgment of this penetrating princeſs; and men long expected that he would obtain the preference above ſo many princes and monarchs. But the queen gave all theſe ſuitors a gentle refuſal; which ſtill encouraged their purſuit; and ſhe thought that ſhe ſhould the better attach them to her intereſts if they were ſtill allowed to entertain hopes of ſucceeding in their pretenſions. It is alſo probable that this policy was not entirely free from a mixture of female coquetry; and that, though ſhe was determined in her own mind never to ſhare her power with any man, ſhe was not diſpleaſed with the courtſhip, ſolicitation, and profeſſions of love, which the deſire of acquiring ſo valuable a prize procured her from all quarters.

What is moſt ſingular in the conduct and character of Elizabeth is, that though ſhe determined never to have any heir of her own body, ſhe was not only averſe to fix any ſucceſſor to the crown; but ſeems alſo to have reſolved, as far as it lay in her power, that no one who had pretenſions to the ſucceſſion ſhould ever have any heirs or ſucceſſors. If the excluſion given by the will of Henry VIII. to the poſterity of Margaret queen of Scotland was allowed to be valid, the right to the crown devolved on the houſe of Suffolk; and the lady Catherine Gray, younger ſiſter to the lady Jane, was now the heir of that family. This lady had been married to lord

Herbert, ſon of the earl of Pembroke; but, having been divorced from that nobleman, ſhe made a private marriage with the earl of Hertford, ſon of the protector; and her huſband, ſoon after conſummation, travelled into France. In a little time ſhe appeared to be pregnant, which ſo enraged Elizabeth, that ſhe threw her into the Tower, and ſummoned Hertford to appear, in order to anſwer for his miſdemeanor. He made no ſcruple of acknowledging the marriage, which, though concluded without the queen's conſent, was entirely ſuitable to both parties; and for this offence he was alſo committed to the Tower. Elizabeth's ſeverity ſtopped not here: She iſſued a commiſſion to enquire into the matter; and as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witneſſes, the commerce between him and his conſort was declared unlawful, and their poſterity illegitimate. They were ſtill detained in cuſtody; but, by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourſe; and another child appeared to be the fruit of their commerce. This was a freſh ſource of vexation to the queen; who made a fine of fifteen thouſand pounds be ſet on Hertford by the ſtar-chamber, and ordered his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and ſevere. He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty. This extreme ſeverity muſt be accounted for, either by the unrelenting jealouſy of the queen, who was afraid leſt a pretender to the ſucceſſion ſhould acquire credit by having iſſue; or by her malignity, which, with all her great qualities, made one ingredient in her character, and which led her to envy, in others, thoſe natural pleaſures of love and poſterity, of which her own ambition and deſire of dominion made her renounce all proſpect for herſelf.

There happened, about this time, ſome other events in the royal family, where the queen's conduct was more laudable. Arthur Pole, and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal, and deſcended from the duke of Clarence, together with Anthony Forteſcue, who had married

ried a sister of these gentlemen, and some other persons, were brought to their trial for intending to withdraw into France, with a view of soliciting succours from the duke of Guise, of returning thence into Wales, and of proclaiming Mary queen of England, and Arthur Pole duke of Clarence. They confessed the indictment, but asserted, that they never meant to execute these projects during the queen's life-time: They had only deemed such precautions requisite in case of her demise, which some pretenders to judicial astrology had assured them they might with certainty look for before the year expired. They were condemned by the jury; but received a pardon from the queen's clemency.

CHAP. XXXIX.

State of Europe——Civil wars of France——Havre de Grace put in possession of the English——A parliament——Havre lost——Affairs of Scotland——The queen of Scots marries the earl of Darnley——Confederacy against the Protestants——Murder of Rizzio——A parliament——Murder of Darnley——Queen of Scots marries Bothwel——Insurrection in Scotland—Imprisonment of Mary——Mary flies into England——Conferences at York and Hampton-Court.

1562. AFTER the commencement of the religious wars in France, which rendered that flourishing kingdom, during the course of near forty years, a scene of horror and devastation, the great rival powers in Europe were Spain and England; and it was not long before an animosity, first political, then personal, broke out between the sovereigns of these countries.

Philip II. of Spain, though he reached not any enlarged views of policy, was endowed with great industry and sagacity, a remarkable caution in his enterprises, an unusual foresight in all his measures; and as he was ever cool and seemingly unmoved by passion, and possessed neither talents nor inclination for war, both his subjects and his neighbours had reason to ex-

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pect juſtice, happineſs, and tranquillity, from his adminiſtration. But prejudices had on him as pernicious effects as ever paſſion had on any other monarch; and the ſpirit of bigotry and tyranny by which he was actuated, with the fraudulent maxims which governed his counſels, excited the moſt violent agitation among his own people, engaged him in acts of the moſt enormous cruelty, and threw all Europe into combuſtion.

After Philip had concluded peace at Cateau-Cambreſis, and had remained ſome time in the Netherlands, in order to ſettle the affairs of that country, he embarked for Spain; and as the gravity of that nation, with their reſpectful obedience to their prince, had appeared more agreeable to his humour than the homely familiar manners and the pertinacious liberty of the Flemings, it was expected that he would, for the future, reſide altogether at Madrid, and would govern all his extenſive dominions by Spaniſh miniſters and Spaniſh counſels. Having met with a violent tempeſt on his voyage, he no ſooner arrived in harbour than he fell on his knees; and, after giving thanks for his deliverance, he vowed that his life, which was thus providentially ſaved, ſhould thenceforth be entirely devoted to the extirpation of hereſy. His ſubſequent conduct correſponded to theſe profeſſions. Finding that the new doctrines had penetrated into Spain, he let looſe the rage of perſecution againſt all who profeſſed them, or were ſuſpected of adhering to them; and by his violence he gave new edge, even to the uſual cruelty of prieſts and inquiſitors. He threw into priſon Conſtantine Ponce, who had been confeſſor to his father, the emperor Charles; who had attended him during his retreat; and in whoſe arms that great monarch had terminated his life: And after this eccleſiaſtic died in confinement, he ſtill ordered him to be tried and condemned for hereſy, and his ſtatue to be committed to the flames. He even deliberated whether he ſhould not exerciſe like ſeverity againſt the memory of his father, who was ſuſpected, during his latter years, to have in-

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dulged a propenſity towards the Lutheran principles: In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition: He was preſent, with an inflexible countenance, at the moſt barbarous executions: He iſſued rigorous orders for the proſecution of heretics in Spain, Italy, the Indies, and the Low Countries: And, having founded his determined tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, he made it apparent to all his ſubjects, that there was no method, except the moſt entire compliance, or moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, to eſcape or elude the ſeverity of his vengeance.

During that extreme animoſity which prevailed between the adherents of the oppoſite religions, the civil magiſtrate, who found it difficult, if not impoſſible, for the ſame laws to govern ſuch enraged adverſaries, was naturally led, by ſpecious rules of prudence, in embracing one party, to declare war againſt the other, and to exterminate, by fire and ſword, thoſe bigots, who, from abhorrence of his religion, had proceeded to an oppoſition of his power, and to a hatred of his perſon. If any prince poſſeſſed ſuch enlarged views as to foreſee that a mutual toleration would in time abate the fury of religious prejudices, he yet met with difficulties in reducing this principle to practice; and might deem the malady too violent to await a remedy which, though certain, muſt neceſſarily be ſlow in its operation. But Philip, though a profound hypocrite, and extremely governed by ſelf-intereſt, ſeems alſo to have been himſelf actuated by an imperious bigotry; and, as he employed great reflection in all his conduct, he could eaſily palliate the gratification of his natural temper under the colour of wiſdom, and find, in this ſyſtem, no leſs advantage to his foreign than his domeſtic politics. By placing himſelf at the head of the catholic party, he converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partiſans of Spaniſh greatneſs; and by employing the powerful allurement of religion, he ſeduced, every where,

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the subjects from that allegiance which they owed to their native sovereign.

The course of events, guiding and concurring with choice, had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite; and had raised her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the support of the numerous, though still persecuted, protestants throughout Europe. More moderate in her temper than Philip, she found, with pleasure, that the principles of her sect required not such extreme severity in her domestic government as was exercised by that monarch; and, having no object but self-preservation, she united her interests in all foreign negotiations with those who were every where struggling under oppression, and guarding themselves against ruin and extermination. The more virtuous sovereign was thus happily thrown into the more favourable cause; and fortune, in this instance, concurred with policy and nature.

During the life-time of Henry II. of France, and of his successor, the force of these principles was somewhat restrained, though not altogether overcome, by motives of a superior interest; and the dread of uniting England with the French monarchy, engaged Philip to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. Yet even during this period he rejected the garter which she sent him; he refused to ratify the ancient league between the house of Burgundy and England; he furnished ships to transport French forces into Scotland; he endeavoured to intercept the Earl of Arran, who was hastening to join the malcontents in that country; and the queen's wisest ministers still regarded his friendship as hollow and precarious. But no sooner did the death of Francis II. put an end to Philip's apprehensions with regard to Mary's succession than his animosity against Elizabeth began more openly to appear; and the interests of Spain and those of England were found opposite in every negotiation and transaction.

The two great monarchies of the continent, France and Spain, being possessed of nearly equal force, were naturally

naturally antagoniſts; and England, from its power and ſituation, was entitled to ſupport its own dignity, as well as tranquillity, by holding the balance between them. Whatever incident, therefore, tended too much to depreſs one of theſe rival powers, as it left the other without control, might be deemed contrary to the intereſts of England: Yet ſo much were theſe great maxims of policy over-ruled, during that age, by the diſputes of theology, that Philip found an advantage in ſupporting the eſtabliſhed government and religion of France; and Elizabeth in protecting faction and innovation.

The queen regent of France, when reinſtated in authority by the death of her ſon, Francis, had formed a plan of adminiſtration more ſubtle than judicious; and balancing the catholics with the hugonots, the duke of Guiſe with the prince of Condé, ſhe endeavoured to render herſelf neceſſary to both, and to eſtabliſh her own dominion on their conſtrained obedience. But the equal counterpoiſe of power, which, among foreign nations, is the ſource of tranquillity, proves always the ground of quarrel between domeſtic factions; and if the animoſity of religion concur with the frequent occaſions which preſent themſelves of mutual injury, it is impoſſible, during any time, to preſerve a firm concord in ſo delicate a ſituation. The conſtable, Montmorency, moved by zeal for the ancient faith, joined himſelf to the duke of Guiſe: The king of Navarre, from his inconſtant temper, and his jealouſy of the ſuperior genius of his brother, embraced the ſame party: And Catherine, finding herſelf depreſſed by this combination, had recourſe to Condé and the hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themſelves by her countenance and protection. An edict had been publiſhed, granting a toleration to the proteſtants; but the intereſted violence of the duke of Guiſe, covered with the pretence of religious zeal, broke through this agreement; and the two parties, after the fallacious tranquillity of a moment, renewed

their

their mutual insults and injuries. Condé, Coligni, Andelot, assembled their friends, and flew to arms: Guise and Montmorency got possession of the king's person, and constrained the queen-regent to embrace their party: Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France: Each province, each city, each family, was agitated with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son; brother against brother; and women themselves, sacrificing their humanity as well as their timidity to the religious fury, distinguished themselves by acts of ferocity and valour. Wherever the hugonots prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed with fire: Where success attended the catholics, they burned the bibles, re-baptized the infants, constrained married persons to pass anew through the nuptial ceremony: And plunder, desolation, and bloodshed attended equally the triumph of both parties. The parliament of Paris itself, the seat of law and justice, instead of employing its authority to compose these quarrels published an edict, by which it put the sword into the hands of the enraged multitude, and empowered the catholics every where to massacre the hugonots: And it was during this period, when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, seems to have attained its last stage of virulence and ferocity.

Philip, jealous of the progress which the hugonots made in France, and dreading that the contagion would spread into the Low Country provinces, had formed a secret alliance with the princes of Guise, and had entered into a mutual concert for the protection of the ancient faith, and the suppression of heresy. He now sent six thousand men, with some supply of money, to reinforce the catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himself unequal to so great a combination, countenanced by the royal authority, was obliged to dis-

patch the Vidame of Chatres and Briguemaut to London, in order to crave the assistance and protection of Elizabeth. Most of the province of Normandy was possessed by the hugonots: And Condé offered to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the English; on condition that, together with three thousand men of the garrison of that place, the queen should likewise send over three thousand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and should furnish the prince with a supply of a hundred thousand crowns.

Elizabeth, besides the general and essential interest of supporting the protestants, and opposing the rapid progress of her enemy the duke of Guise, had other motives which engaged her to accept of this proposal. When she concluded the peace at Cateau-Cambresis, she had good reason to foresee that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article which regarded the restitution of Calais; and many subsequent incidents had tended to confirm this suspicion. Considerable sums of money had been expended on the fortifications; long leases had been granted of the lands; and many inhabitants had been encouraged to build and settle there, by assurances that Calais should never be restored to the English. The queen therefore wisely concluded, that, could she get possession of Havre, a place which commanded the mouth of the Seine, and was of greater importance than Calais, she should easily constrain the French to execute the treaty, and should have the glory of restoring to the crown that ancient possession, so much the favourite of the nation.

No measure could be more generally odious in France, than the conclusion of this treaty with Elizabeth. Men were naturally led to compare the conduct of Guise, who had finally expelled the English, and had debarred these dangerous and destructive enemies from all access into France, with the treasonable politics of Condé, who had again granted them an entrance into the heart of the kingdom. The prince had the more reason to repent of this measure, as he reaped not from it all the ad-

vantage which he expected. Three thousand English immediately took possession of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of sir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found so little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned. The siege of Rouen was already formed by the catholics under the command of the king of Navarre and Montmorency; and it was with difficulty that Poinings could throw a small reinforcement into the place. Though these English troops behaved with gallantry, and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, the catholics still continued the attack of the place, and carrying it at last by assault, put the whole garrison to the sword. The earl of Warwick, eldest son of the late duke of Northumberland, arrived soon after at Havre with another body of three thousand English, and took on him the command of the place.

It was expected that the French catholics, flushed with their success at Rouen, would immediately have formed the siege of Havre, which was not as yet in any condition of defence; but the intestine disorders of the kingdom soon diverted their attention to another enterprise. Andelot, seconded by the negotiations of Elizabeth, had levied a considerable body of protestants in Germany; and having arrived at Orleans, the seat of the hugonots' power, he enabled the prince of Condé and the admiral to take the field, and oppose the progress of their enemies. After threatening Paris during some time, they took their march towards Normandy, with a view of engaging the English to act in conjunction with them, and of fortifying themselves by the farther assistance which they expected from the zeal and vigour of Elizabeth. The catholics, commanded by the constable, and under him by the duke of Guise, followed on their rear; and overtaking them at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The field was kept with great obstinacy on both sides: And the action was distinguished by this singular event, that Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, fell both

both of them prisoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guise; but the admiral, whose fate it ever was to be defeated, and still to rise more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of his army: and inspiring his own unconquerable courage and constancy into every breast, kept them in a body, and subdued some considerable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to support his cause, sent him a new supply of a hundred thousand crowns; and offered, if he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her bond for another sum of equal amount.

1563. The expences incurred by assisting the French hugonots had emptied the queen's exchequer: and, in order to obtain supplies, she found herself under a necessity of summoning a parliament: An expedient to which she never willingly had recourse. A little before the meeting of this assembly she had fallen into a dangerous illness, the small-pox; and as her life during some time was despaired of, the people became the more sensible of their perilous situation, derived from the uncertainty, which, in case of her demise, attended the succession of the crown. The partisans of the queen of Scots, and those of the house of Suffolk, already divided the nation into factions; and every one foresaw, that, though it might be possible at present to determine the controversy by law, yet, if the throne was vacant, nothing but the sword would be able to fix a successor. The commons, therefore, on the opening of the session, voted an address to the queen; in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a broken and doubtful succession, and mentioning the evils which their fathers had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaster, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehensions, by choosing some husband, whom they promised, whoever he were, gratefully to receive, and faithfully to serve, honour, and obey: Or, if she had entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired that the lawful successor might be named, at least appointed, by act

of parliament. They remarked that, during all the reigns which had passed since the conquest, the nation had never before been so unhappy as not to know the person who, in case of the sovereign's death, was legally entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they observed, that the fixed order which took place in inheriting the French monarchy, was one chief source of the usual tranquillity, as well as of the happiness of that kingdom.

The subject, though extremely interesting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen; and she was sensible that great difficulties would attend every decision. A declaration in favour of the queen of Scots would form a settlement perfectly legal; because that princess was commonly allowed to possess the right of blood; and the exclusion given by Henry's will, deriving its weight chiefly from an act of parliament, would lose all authority, whenever the queen and parliament had made a new settlement, and restored the Scottish line to its place in the succession. But she dreaded giving encouragement to the catholics, her secret enemies, by this declaration. She was sensible that every heir was in some degree, a rival; much more one who enjoyed a claim for the present possession of the crown, and who had already advanced, in a very open manner, those dangerous pretensions. The great power of Mary, both from the favour of the catholic princes, and her connections with the house of Guise, not to mention the force and situation of Scotland, was well known to her; and she saw no security that this princess, if fortified by a sure prospect of succession, would not revive claims which she could never yet be prevailed on formally to relinquish. On the other hand the title of the house of Suffolk was supported by the more zealous protestants only; and it was very doubtful, whether even a parliamentary declaration in its favour, would bestow on it such validity as to give satisfaction to the people. The republican part of the constitution had not yet acquired such an ascendant as to control, in any degree, the ideas

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of hereditary right; and as the legality of Henry's will was ſtill diſputed, though founded on the utmoſt authority which a parliament could confer; who could be aſſured that a more recent act would be acknowledged to have greater validity? In the frequent revolutions which had of late taken place, the right of blood had ſtill prevailed over religious prejudices; and the nation had ever ſhewn itſelf diſpoſed, rather to change its faith than the order of ſucceſſion. Even many proteſtants declared themſelves in favour of Mary's claim of inheritance; and nothing would occaſion more general diſguſt, than to ſee the queen, openly, and without reſerve, take part againſt it. The Scottiſh princeſs alſo, finding herſelf injured in ſo ſenſible a point, would thenceforth act as a declared enemy; and, uniting together her foreign and domeſtic friends, the partiſans of her preſent title and of her eventual ſucceſſion, would ſoon bring matters to extremities againſt the preſent eſtabliſhment. The queen, weighing all theſe inconveniencies, which were great and urgent, was determined to keep both parties in awe, by maintaining ſtill an ambiguous conduct; and ſhe rather choſe that the people ſhould run the hazard of contingent events, than that ſhe herſelf ſhould viſibly endanger her throne, by employing expedients, which, at beſt, would not beſtow entire ſecurity on the nation. She gave, therefore, an evaſive anſwer to the applications of the commons; and when the houſe, at the end of the ſeſſion, deſired, by the mouth of their ſpeaker, farther ſatisfaction on that head, ſhe could not be prevailed on to make her reply more explicit. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the beginning of her reign, that ſhe had fixed no abſolute reſolution againſt marriage; and ſhe added, that the difficulties attending the queſtion of the ſucceſſion, were ſo great, that ſhe would be contented, for the ſake of her people, to remain ſome time longer in this vale of miſery; and never ſhould depart life with ſatisfaction, till ſhe had laid ſome ſolid foundation for their future ſecurity.

The moſt remarkable law paſſed this ſeſſion, was that

which bore the title of *Assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions.* By this act, the asserting twice, by writing, word, or deed, the pope's authority was subjected to the penalties of treason. All persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy; as also all who were advanced to any degree, either in the universities or in common-law; all schoolmasters, officers in court, or members of parliament: And the penalty of their second refusal was treason. The first offence, in both cases, was punished by banishment and forfeiture. This rigorous statute was not extended to any of the degree of a Baron; because it was not supposed that the queen would entertain any doubt with regard to the fidelity of persons possessed of such high dignity. Lord Montacute made opposition to the bill; and asserted in favour of the catholics, that they disputed not, they preached not, they disobeyed not the queen, they caused no trouble, no tumults among the people. It is, however, probable that some suspicions of their secret conspiracies had made the queen and parliament increase their rigour against them; though it is also more than probable that they were mistaken in the remedy.

There was likewise another point in which the parliament, this session, shewed more the goodness of their intention, than the soundness of their judgment. They passed a law against fond and fantastic prophecies, which had been observed to seduce the people into rebellion and disorder: But at the same time they enacted a statute, which was most likely to increase these and such like superstitions: It was levelled against conjurations, enchantments, and witchcraft. Witchcraft and heresy are two crimes, which commonly increase by punishment, and never are so effectually suppressed as by being totally neglected. After the parliament had granted the queen a supply of one subsidy and two-fifteenths, the session was finished by a prorogation. The convocation likewise voted the queen a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, payable in three years.

While

While the Engliſh parties exerted theſe calm efforts againſt each other, in parliamentary votes and debates, the French factions, enflamed to the higheſt degree of animoſity, continued that cruel war, which their intemperate zeal, actuated by the ambition of their leaders, had kindled in the kingdom. The admiral was ſucceſsful in reducing the towns of Normandy which held for the king; but he frequently complained, that the numerous garriſon of Havre remained totally inactive, and was not employed in any military operation againſt the common enemy. The queen, in taking poſſeſſion of that place, had publiſhed a manifeſto, in which ſhe pretended, that her concern for the intereſts of the French king had engaged her in that meaſure, and that her ſole intention was to oppoſe her enemies of the houſe of Guiſe, who held their prince in captivity, and employed his power to the deſtruction of his beſt and moſt faithful ſubjects. It was chiefly her deſire to preſerve appearances, joined to the great frugality of her temper, which made her, at this critical juncture, keep her ſoldiers in garriſon, and reſtrain them from committing farther hoſtilities upon the enemy. The duke of Guiſe, meanwhile, was aiming a mortal blow at the power of the hugonots; and had commenced the ſiege of Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where the conſtable was detained priſoner. He had the proſpect of ſpeedy ſucceſs in this undertaking; when he was aſſaſſinated by Poltrot, a young gentleman, whoſe zeal, inſtigated (as is pretended, though without any certain foundation) by the admiral, and Beza, a famous preacher, led him to attempt that criminal enterprize. The death of this gallant prince was a ſenſible loſs to the catholic party; and though the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, ſtill ſupported the intereſts of the family, the danger of their progreſs appeared not ſo imminent either to Elizabeth or to the French proteſtants. The union, therefore, between theſe allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, began thenceforth to be leſs intimate; and the leaders of the hugonots were perſuaded

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to hearken to terms of a ſeparate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency held conferences for ſettling the peace; and as they were both of them impatient to relieve themſelves from captivity, they ſoon came to an agreement with regard to the conditions. The character of the queen-regent, whoſe ends were always violent, but who endeavoured, by ſubtilty and policy, rather than force, to attain them, led her to embrace any plauſible terms; and, in ſpite of the proteſtations of the admiral, whoſe ſagacity could eaſily diſcover the treachery of the court, the articles of agreement were finally ſettled between the parties. A toleration, under ſome reſtrictions, was anew granted to the proteſtants; a general amneſty was publiſhed; Condé was reinſtated in his offices and governments; and after money was advanced for the payment of arrears due to the German troops, they were diſmiſſed the kingdom.

By the agreement between Elizabeth and the prince of Conde it had been ſtipulated, that neither party ſhould conclude peace without the conſent of the other; but this article was at preſent but little regarded by the leaders of the French proteſtants. They only comprehended her ſo far in the treaty, as to obtain a promiſe, that, on her relinquiſhing Havre, her charges, and the money which ſhe had advanced them, ſhould be repaid her by the king of France, and that Calais, on the expiration of the term, ſhould be reſtored to her. But ſhe diſdained to accept of theſe conditions; and thinking the poſſeſſion of Havre a much better pledge for effecting her purpoſe, ſhe ſent Warwick orders to prepare himſelf againſt an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy.

The Earl of Warwick, who commanded a garriſon of ſix thouſand men, beſides ſeven hundred pioneers, had no ſooner got poſſeſſion of Havre, than he employed every means for putting it in a poſture of defence; and after expelling the French from the town, he encouraged his ſoldiers to make the moſt deſperate defence againſt the enemy. The conſtable commanded the French army;

army; the queen-regent herſelf, and the king, were preſent in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces, and gave countenance to this enterpriſe; the admiral and Andelot alone, anxious ſtill to preſerve the friendſhip of Elizabeth, kept at a diſtance, and prudently refuſed to join their ancient enemies in an attack upon their allies.

From the force, diſpoſitions, and ſituations of both ſides, it was expected that the ſiege would be attended with ſome memorable event; yet did France make a much eaſier acquiſition of this important place, than was at firſt apprehended. The plague crept in among the Engliſh ſoldiers; and being increaſed by their fatigue and bad diet (for they were but ill ſupplied with proviſions), it made ſuch ravages, that ſometimes a hundred men a-day died of it, and there remained not at laſt fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty. The French, meeting with ſuch feeble reſiſtance, carried on their attacks ſucceſsfully; and having made two breaches, each of them ſixty feet wide, they prepared for a general aſſault, which muſt have terminated in the ſlaughter of the whole garriſon. Warwick, who had frequently warned the Engliſh council of their danger, and who had loudly demanded a ſupply of men and proviſions, found himſelf obliged to capitulate, and to content himſelf with the liberty of withdrawing his garriſon. The articles were no ſooner ſigned, than lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thouſand men; and found the place ſurrendered to the enemy. To increaſe the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it ſwept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. Above twenty thouſand perſons there died of it in one year *.

* This year the council of Trent was diſſolved, which had ſitten from 1545. The publication of its decrees excited anew the general ferment in Europe; while the catholics endeavoured to enforce the acceptance of them, and the proteſtants rejected them. The religious controverſies were ſo far advanced

Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight had not appeared in this transaction, was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen-regent desired to obtain leisure, in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the hugonots, she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England. It was agreed, that the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais, should be restored for 220,000 crowns; and that both sides should retain all their claims and pretensions.

The peace still continued with Scotland; and even a cordial friendship seemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. These princesses made profession of the most entire affection; wrote amicable letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as style of sisters. Elizabeth punished one Hales, who had published a book against Mary's title; and as the lord keeper, Bacon, was thought to have encouraged Hales in this undertaking, he fell under her displeasure, and it was with some difficulty he was able to give her satisfaction, and recover her favour. The two queens had agreed in the foregoing summer to an interview at York; in order to remove all difficulties with regard to Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to consider of the proper method for settling the succession of England: But as Elizabeth carefully avoided touching on this delicate subject, she employed a pretence of the wars in France, which, she said, would detain her in London; and she delayed till next year, the intended interview. It is also

vanced to expect that any conviction would result from the decrees of this council. It is the only general council which has been held in an age truly learned and inquisitive; and as the history of it has been written with great penetration and judgment, it has tended very much to expose clerical usurpations and intrigues, and may serve us as a specimen of more ancient councils. No one expects to see another general council, till the decay of learning and the progress of ignorance shall again fit mankind for these great impostures.

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probable, that, being well acquainted with the beauty, addreſs, and accompliſhments of Mary, ſhe did not chuſe to ſtand the comparison with regard to thoſe exterior qualities, in which ſhe was eclipſed by her rival; and was unwilling that a princeſs, who had already made great progreſs in the eſteem and affections of the Engliſh, ſhould have a farther opportunity of increaſing the number of her partiſans.

Mary's cloſe connections with the houſe of Guiſe, and her devoted attachment to her uncles, by whom ſhe had been early educated, and conſtantly protected, was the ground of juſt and unſurmountable jealouſy to Elizabeth, who regarded them as her mortal and declared enemies, and was well acquainted with their dangerous character and ambitious projects. They had made offer of their niece to Don Carlos, Philip's ſon; to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's orders, from which he might eaſily be freed by a diſpenſation; and they were ready to marry her to any one who could ſtrengthen their intereſts, or give inquietude and diſturbance to Elizabeth. Elizabeth, on her part, was equally vigilant to prevent the execution of their ſchemes, and was particularly anxious, leſt Mary ſhould form any powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her to revive her pretenſions to the crown, and to invade the kingdom on the ſide where it was weakeſt, and lay moſt expoſed. As ſhe believed that the marriage with the archduke Charles was the one moſt likely to take place, ſhe uſed every expedient to prevent it; and beſides remonſtrating againſt it to Mary herſelf, ſhe endeavoured to draw off the archduke from that purſuit, by giving him ſome hopes of ſucceſs in his pretenſions to herſelf, and by inviting him to a renewal of the former treaty of marriage. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing would ſatisfy her but her eſpouſing ſome Engliſh nobleman, who would remove all grounds of jealouſy, and cement the union between the kingdoms; and ſhe offered, on this condition,

condition, to have her title examined, and to declare her ſucceſſor to the crown. After keeping the matter in theſe general terms during a twelvemonth, ſhe at laſt named lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leiceſter, as the perſon on whom ſhe deſired that Mary's choice ſhould fall.

The earl of Leiceſter, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, poſſeſſed all thoſe exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair ſex; a handſome perſon, a polite addreſs, an inſinuating behaviour; and, by means of theſe accompliſhments, he had been able to blind, even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defects, or rather odious vices, which attended his character. He was proud, inſolent, intereſted, ambitious; without honour, without generoſity, without humanity; and atoned not for theſe bad qualities, by ſuch abilities or courage, as could fit him for that high truſt and confidence, with which ſhe always honoured him. Her conſtant, and declared attachment to him had naturally emboldened him to aſpire to her bed; and in order to make way for theſe nuptials, he was univerſally believed to have murdered, in a barbarous manner, his wife, the heireſs of one Robeſart. The propoſal of eſpouſing Mary was by no means agreeable to him; and he always aſcribed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy; who, he thought, intended by that artifice to make him loſe the friendſhip of Mary from the temerity of his pretenſions, and that of Elizabeth from jealouſy of his attachments to another woman. The queen herſelf had not any ſerious intention of effecting this marriage; but as ſhe was deſirous that the queen of Scots, ſhould never have any huſband, ſhe named a man, who, ſhe believed, was not likely to be accepted of; and ſhe hoped, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. The earl of Leiceſter, was too great a favourite to be parted with; and when Mary, allured by the proſpect of being declared ſucceſſor to the crown, ſeemed at laſt to hearken to Elizabeth's propoſal, this princeſs receded from

from her offers, and withdrew the bait which she had thrown out to her rival. This duplicity of conduct, joined to some appearance of an imperious superiority, assumed by her, had drawn a peevish letter from Mary; and the seemingly amicable correspondence, between the two queens was, during some time, interrupted. In order to make up the breach, the queen of Scots, dispatched sir James Melvil to London; who has given us in his memoirs a particular account of his negotiation.

Melvil was an agreeable courtier, a man of address and conversation; and it was recommended to him by his mistress, that, besides grave reasonings concerning politics and state-affairs, he should introduce more entertaining topics of conversation, suitable to the sprightly character of Elizabeth; and should endeavour by that means to insinuate himself into her confidence. He succeeded so well, that he threw that artful princess entirely off her guard; and made her discover the bottom of her heart, full of all those levities, and follies, and ideas of rivalship, which possess the youngest and most frivolous of her sex. He talked to her of his travels, and forgot not to mention the different dresses of the ladies in different countries, and the particular advantages of each, in setting off the beauties of the shape and person. The queen said, that she had dresses of all countries; and she took care thenceforth to meet the ambassador every day, apparelled in a different habit: Sometimes she was dressed in the English garb, sometimes in the French, sometimes in the Italian; and she asked him, which of them became her most? He answered the Italian; a reply that he knew would be agreeable to her, because that mode showed to advantage her flowing locks, which he remarked, though they were more red than yellow, she fancied to be the finest in the world. She desired to know of him, what was reputed the best colour of hair: She asked whether his queen, or she had the finest hair: She even enquired which of them he esteemed the fairest person: A very

delicate queſtion, and which he prudently eluded, by ſaying, that her majeſty was the faireſt perſon in England, and his miſtreſs in Scotland. She next demanded which of them was talleſt: He replied, his queen: Then is ſhe too tall, ſaid Elizabeth: For I, myſelf, am of a juſt ſtature.

1564. Having learned from him, that his miſtreſs ſometimes recreated herſelf by playing on the harpſichord, an inſtrument on which ſhe herſelf excelled, ſhe gave orders to lord Hunſdon, that he ſhould lead the ambaſſador, as it were caſually, into an apartment, where he might hear her perform; and when Melvil, as if raviſhed with the harmony, broke into the queen's apartment, ſhe pretended to be diſpleaſed with his intruſion; but ſtill took care to aſk him, whether he thought Mary or her the beſt performer on that inſtrument? From the whole of her behaviour, Melvil thought he might, on his return, aſſure his miſtreſs, that ſhe had no reaſon ever to expect any cordial friendſhip from Elizabeth, and that all her profeſſions of amity were full of falſehood and diſſimulation.

After two years had been ſpent in evaſions and artifices, Mary's ſubjects and counſellors, and probably herſelf, began to think it full time that ſome marriage was concluded; and lord Darnley, ſon of the earl of Lenox, was the perſon in whom moſt men's opinions and wiſhes centered. He was Mary's couſin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Harry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of Lenox had conſtantly reſided, ſince he had been baniſhed by the prevailing power of the houſe of Hamilton: And as Darnley was now in his twentieth year, and was a very comely perſon, tall and delicately ſhaped, it was hoped that he might ſoon render himſelf agreeable to the queen of Scots. He was alſo by his father, a branch of the ſame family with herſelf; and would, in eſpouſing her, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stuart: He was, after her, next

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heir to the crown of England; and those who pretended to exclude her on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to recommend his title, and give it the preference. It seemed no inconsiderable advantage, that she could, by marrying, unite both their claims; and as he was by birth an Englishman, and could not, by his power or alliances, give any ground of suspicion to Elizabeth, it was hoped that the proposal of this marriage would not be unacceptable to that jealous princess.

Elizabeth was well informed of these intentions; and was secretly not displeased with the projected marriage between Darnley and the queen of Scots. She would rather have wished that Mary had continued for ever in a single life: But finding little probability of rendering this scheme effectual, she was satisfied with a choice, which freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the necessity of parting with Leicester, her favourite. In order to pave the way to Darnley's marriage, she secretly desired Mary to invite Lenox into Scotland, to reverse his attainder, and to restore him to his honours and fortune. And when her request was complied with, she took care, in order to preserve the friendship of the Hamiltons, and her other partisans in Scotland, to blame openly this conduct of Mary. Hearing that the negotiation for Darnley's marriage advanced apace, she gave that nobleman permission, on his first application, to follow his father into Scotland: But no sooner did she learn that the queen of Scots, was taken with his figure and person, and that all measures were fixed for espousing him, than she exclaimed against the marriage; sent Throgmorton to order Darnley immediately, upon his allegiance, to return to England; threw the countess of Lenox and her second son into the Tower, where they suffered a rigorous confinement; seized all Lenox's English estate; and though it was impossible for her to assign one single reason for her displeasure, she menaced, and protested, and complained, as if she had suffered the most grievous injury in the world.

The politics of Elizabeth, though judicious, were usually full of duplicity and artifice; but never more so than in her transactions with the queen of Scots, where there entered so many little passions, and narrow jealousies, that she durst not avow to the world the reasons of her conduct, scarcely to her ministers, and scarcely even to herself. But besides a womanish rivalship and envy against the marriage of this princess, she had some motives of interest for feigning a displeasure on the present occasion. It served her as a pretence for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England; a point to which, for good reasons, she was determined never to consent. And it was useful to her for a purpose still more unfriendly and dangerous, for encouraging the discontents and rebellion of the Scottish nobility and ecclesiastics.

Nothing can be more unhappy for a people than to be governed by a sovereign attached to a religion different from the established; and it is scarcely possible that mutual confidence can ever, in such a situation, have place between the prince and his subjects.

1565. Mary's conduct had been hitherto, in every respect, unexceptionable, and even laudable; yet had she not made such progress in acquiring popularity, as might have been expected from her gracious deportment, and agreeable accomplishments. Suspicions every moment prevailed on account of her attachment to the catholic faith, and especially to her uncles, the open and avowed promoters of the scheme for exterminating the professors of the reformed religion, throughout all Europe. She still refused to ratify the acts of parliament, which had established the reformation; she made attempts for restoring to the catholic bishops some part of their civil jurisdiction; and she wrote a letter to the council of Trent, in which, besides professing her attachment to the catholic faith, she took notice of her title to succeed to the crown of England, and expressed her hopes of being able, in some period, to bring back all her dominions to the bosom of the church.

church. The zealots among the protestants were not wanting, in their turn, to exercise their insolence against her, which tended still more to alienate her from their faith. A law was enacted, making it capital, on the very first offence, to say mass any where, except in the queen's chapel; and it was with difficulty, that even this small indulgence was granted her: The general assembly importuned her anew to change her religion; to renounce the blasphemous idolatry of the mass, with the tyranny of the Roman Antichrist; and to embrace the true religion of Christ Jesus. As she answered with temper, that she was not yet convinced of the falsity of her religion, or the impiety of the mass; and that her apostacy would lose her the friendship of her allies on the continent; they replied, by assuring her, that their religion was undoubtedly the same which had been revealed by Jesus Christ, which had been preached by the apostles, and which had been embraced by the faithful, in the primitive ages; that neither the religion of Turks, Jews, nor Papists was built on so solid a foundation as theirs; that they alone, of all the various species of religionists spread over the face of the earth, were so happy as to be possessed of the truth; that those who hear, or rather who gaze on the mass, allow sacrilege, pronounce blasphemy, and commit most abominable idolatry; and that the friendship of the King of kings was preferable to all the alliances in the world.

The marriage of the queen of Scots had kindled afresh the zeal of the reformers, because the family of Lenox was believed to adhere to the catholic faith; and though Darnley, who now bore the name of king Henry, went often to the established church, he could not, by this exterior compliance, gain the confidence and regard of the ecclesiastics. They rather laid hold of the opportunity to insult him to his face; and Knox scrupled not to tell him from the pulpit, that God, for punishment of the offences and ingratitude of the people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and

women. The populace of Edinburgh, inſtigated by ſuch doctrines, began to meet, and to aſſociate themſelves againſt the government. But what threatened more immediate danger to Mary's authority, were the diſcontents which prevailed among ſome of the principal nobility.

The duke of Chatelrault was diſpleaſed with the reſtoration, and ſtill more with the aggrandizement, of the family of Lenox, his hereditary enemies; and entertained fears leſt his own eventual ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland ſhould be excluded by his rival, who had formerly advanced ſome pretenſions to it. The earl of Murray found his credit at court much diminiſhed by the intereſt of Lenox and his ſon; and began to apprehend the revocation of ſome conſiderable grants which he had obtained from Mary's bounty. The earls of Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairne, the lords Boyde and Ochiltry, Kirkaldy of Grange, Pittarow, were inſtigated by like motives; and as theſe were the perſons who had moſt zealouſly promoted the reformation, they were diſguſted to find that the queen's favour was entirely ingroſſed by a new cabal, the earls of Bothwel, Athol, Sutherland, and Huntley; men who were eſteemed either lukewarm in religious controverſy, or inclined to the catholic party. The ſame ground of diſcontent, which in other courts, is the ſource of intrigue, faction, and oppoſition, commonly produced in Scotland, either projects of aſſaſſination, or of rebellion; and beſides mutual accuſations of the former kind, which it is difficult to clear up*, the mal-

* It appears, however, from Randolf's Letters (ſee Keith p. 290.) that ſome offers had been made to that miniſter, of ſeizing Lenox and Darnley, and delivering them into queen Elizabeth's hands. Melvil confirms the ſame ſtory, and ſays that the deſign was acknowledged by the conſpirators, p. 56. This ſerves to juſtify the account given by the queen's party of the Raid of Ruth, as it is called. See farther, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 358. The other conſpiracy, of which Murray complained, is much more uncertain, and is founded on very doubtful evidence.

content lords as ſoon as they ſaw the queen's marriage entirely reſolved on, entered into a confederacy for taking arms againſt their ſovereign. They met at Stirling; pretended an anxious concern for the ſecurity of religion; framed engagements for mutual defence; and made applications to Elizabeth for aſſiſtance and protection. That princeſs, after publiſhing the expreſſions of her diſpleaſure againſt the marriage, had ſecretly ordered her ambaſſadors Randolf and Throgmorton, to give in her name ſome promiſes of ſupport to the malcontents; and had even ſent them a ſupply of ten thouſand pounds, to enable them to begin an inſurrection.

Mary was no ſooner informed of the meeting at Stirling, and the movements of the lords, than ſhe ſummoned them to appear in court, in order to anſwer for their conduct; having levied ſome forces to execute the laws, ſhe obliged the rebels to leave the low countries, and take ſhelter in Argyleſhire. That ſhe might more effectually cut off their reſources, ſhe proceeded with the king to Glaſgow, and forced them from their retreat. They appeared at Paiſley in the neighbourhood, with about a thouſand horſe; and paſſing the queen's army, proceeded to Hamilton, thence to Edinburgh, which they entered without reſiſtance. They expected great reinforcements in this place, from the efforts of Knox and the ſeditious preachers; and they beat their drums, offering all men to enliſt, and to receive wages for the defence of God's glory. But the nation was in no diſpoſition for rebellion: Mary was eſteemed and beloved: Her marriage was not generally diſagreeable to the people. And the intereſted views of the malcontent lords were ſo well known, that their pretence of zeal for religion had little influence even on the ignorant populace. The king and queen advanced to Edinburgh at the head of their army: The rebels were obliged to retire into the ſouth; and being purſued by a force which now amounted to eighteen thouſand men, they

they found themselves under a necessity of abandoning their country, and of taking shelter in England.

Elizabeth, when she found the event so much to disappoint her expectations, thought proper to disavow all connexions with the Scottish malcontents, and to declare every where, that she had never given them any encouragement, nor any promise of countenance or assistance. She even carried farther her dissimulation and hypocrisy. Murray had come to London, with the abbot of Kilwinning, agent for Chatelrault; and she reduced them, by secret assurances of protection, to declare, before the ambassadors of France and Spain, that she had nowise contributed to their insurrection. No sooner had she extorted this confession from them, than she chased them from her presence, called them unworthy traitors, declared that their detestable rebellion was of bad example to all princes; and assured them, that as she had hitherto given them no encouragement, so should they never henceforth receive from her any assistance or protection. Throgmorton alone, whose honour was equal to his abilities, could not be prevailed on to conceal the part which he had acted in the enterprise of the Scottish rebels; and being well apprised of the usual character and conduct of Elizabeth, he had had the precaution to obtain an order of council to authorise the engagements which he had been obliged to make with them.

The banished lords, finding themselves so harshly treated by Elizabeth, had recourse to the clemency of their own sovereign; and after some solicitation, and some professions of sincere repentance, the duke of Chatelrault obtained his pardon, on condition that he should retire into France. Mary was more implacable against the ungrateful earl of Murray and the other confederates, on whom she threw the chief blame of the enterprise; but as she was continually plied with applications from their friends, and as some of her most judicious partisans in England thought that nothing would

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more promote her interests in that kingdom, than the gentle treatment of men so celebrated for their zeal against the catholic religion; she agreed to give way to her natural temper, which inclined not to severity, and she seemed determined to restore them to favour. In this interval, Rambouillet arrived as ambassador from France, and brought her advice from her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, to whose opinion she always paid an extreme deference, by no means to pardon these protestant leaders, who had been engaged in a rebellion against her.

The two religions in France, as well as in other parts of Europe, were rather irritated than tired with their acts of mutual violence; and the peace granted to the hugonots, as had been foreseen by Coligni, was intended only to lull them asleep, and prepare their way for their final and absolute destruction. The queen-regent made a pretence of travelling through the kingdom, in order to visit the provinces and correct all the abuses arising from the late civil war; and after having held some conferences on the frontiers with the duke of Lorraine and the duke of Savoy, she came to Bayonne, where she was met by her daughter, the queen of Spain, and the duke of Alva. Nothing appeared in the congress of these two splendid courts, but gaiety, festivity, love, and joy; but amidst these smiling appearances were secretly fabricated schemes the most bloody, and the most destructive to the repose of mankind, that had ever been thought of in any age or nation. No less than a total and universal extermination of the protestants by fire and sword was concerted by Philip and Catherine of Medicis; and Alva, agreeably to his fierce and sanguinary disposition, advised the queen-regent to commence the execution of this project, by the immediate massacre of all the leaders of the hugonots. But that princess, though equally hardened against every humane sentiment, would not forego this opportunity of displaying her wit and refined politics, and she purposed, rather by treachery and dissimulation,

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which she called address, to lead the protestants into the snare, and never to draw the sword till they were totally disabled from resistance. The cardinal of Lorraine, whose character bore a greater affinity to that of Alva, was a chief author of this barbarous association against the reformers; and having connected hopes of success with the aggrandizement of his niece, the queen of Scots, he took care that her measures should correspond to those violent counsels which were embraced by the other catholic princes. In consequence of this scheme, he turned her from the road of clemency, which she intended to have followed; and made her resolve on the total ruin of the banished lords. A parliament was summoned at Edinburgh for attainting them; and as their guilt was palpable and avowed, no doubt was entertained but sentence would be pronounced against them. It was by a sudden and violent incident, which, in the issue, brought on the ruin of Mary herself, that they were saved from the rigour of the law.

1566. The marriage of the queen of Scots with lord Darnley was so natural, and so inviting in all its circumstances, that it had been precipitately agreed to by that princess and her council; and while she was allured by his youth and beauty, and exterior accomplishments, she had at first overlooked the qualities of his mind, which nowise corresponded to the excellence of his outward figure. Violent, yet variable in his resolutions; insolent, yet credulous and easily governed by flatterers; he was destitute of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, he was equally incapable of all true sentiments of love and tenderness. The queen of Scots, in the first effusions of her fondness, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond measure: She had granted him the title of king; she had joined his name with her own in all public acts; she intended to have procured him from the parliament a matrimonial crown: But having leisure afterwards to

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remark his weakneſs and vices, ſhe began to ſee the danger of her profuſe liberality, and was reſolved thenceforth to proceed with more reſerve in the truſt which ſhe ſhould confer upon him. His reſentment againſt this prudent conduct ſerved but the more to increaſe her diſguſt; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined neglects, pointed his vengeance againſt every one whom he deemed the cauſe of this change in her meaſures and behaviour.

There was in the court, one David Rizzio, who had of late obtained a very extraordinary degree of confidence and favour with the queen of Scots. He was a Piedmonteſe, of mean birth, ſon of a teacher of muſic, himſelf a muſician; and finding it difficult to ſubſiſt by his art in his own country, he had followed into Scotland an ambaſſador, whom the duke of Savoy ſent thither to pay his compliments to Mary, ſome time after her firſt arrival. He poſſeſſed a good ear and a tolerable voice; and as that princeſs found him uſeful to complete her band of muſic, ſhe retained him in her ſervice after the departure of his maſter. Her ſecretary for French diſpatches having, ſome time after, incurred her diſpleaſure, ſhe promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her perſon, and inſinuating himſelf into her favour. He was ſhrewd and ſenſible, as well as aſpiring, much beyond his rank and education; and he made ſo good uſe of the acceſs which fortune had procured him, that he was ſoon regarded as the chief confident, and even miniſter of the queen. He was conſulted on all occaſions, no favours could be obtained but by his interceſſion: all ſuitors were obliged to gain him by preſents and flattery; and the man, inſolent from his new exaltation, as well as rapacious in his acquiſitions, ſoon drew on himſelf the hatred of the nobility and of the whole kingdom. He had at firſt employed his credit to promote Darnley's marriage; and a firm friendſhip ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed between them: But on the ſubſequent change of the queen's ſentiments, it was eaſy for Henry's friends to perſuade him

him that Rizzio was the real author of her indifference, and even to rouſe in his mind jealouſies of a more dangerous nature. The favourite was of a diſagreeable figure, but was not paſt his youth*; and though the opinion of his criminal correſpondance with Mary might ſeem of itſelf unreaſonable, if not abſurd, a ſuſpicious huſband could find no other means of accounting for that laviſh and imprudent kindneſs with which ſhe honoured him. The rigid auſterity of the eccleſiaſtics, who could admit of no freedoms, contributed to ſpread this opinion among the people; and as Rizzio was univerſally believed to be a penſionary of the pope's, and to be deeply engaged in all ſchemes againſt the proteſtants, any ſtory, to his and Mary's diſadvantage, received an eaſy credit among the zealots of that communion.

Rizzio, who had connected his intereſts with the Roman catholics, was the declared enemy of the baniſhed lords; and by promoting the violent proſecution againſt them, he had expoſed himſelf to the animoſity of their numerous friends and retainers. A ſcheme was alſo thought to be formed for revoking ſome exorbitant grants made during the queen's minority; and even the nobility who had ſeized the eccleſiaſtical benefices, began to think themſelves leſs ſecure in the poſſeſſion of them. The earl of Morton, chancellor, was affected by all theſe

* Buchanan confeſſes that Rizzio was ugly; but it may be inferred, from the narration of that author, that he was young. He ſays, that on the return of the duke of Savoy to Turin, Rizzio was *in adoleſcentiæ vigore*, in the vigour of youth. Now that event happened only a few years before, lib. xvii. cap. 44. That Bothwel was young, appears, among many other invincible proofs, from Mary's inſtructions to the biſhop of Dumblain, her ambaſſador at Paris; where ſhe ſays, that in 1559, only eight years before, he was *very young*. He might therefore have been about thirty when he married her. See Keith's Hiſtory, p. 388. From the Appendix to the *Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum*, it appears by authentic documents that Patrick earl of Bothwel, father to James, who eſpouſed queen Mary, was alive till near the year 1560. Buchanan, by a miſtake, which has been long ago corrected, calls him James.

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considerations, and still more by a rumour spread abroad, that Mary intended to appoint Rizzio chancellor in his place, and to bestow that dignity on a mean and upstart foreigner, ignorant of the laws and language of the country. So indiscreet had this princess been in her kindness to Rizzio, that even that strange report met with credit, and proved a great means of accelerating the ruin of the favourite. Morton, insinuating himself into Henry's confidence, employed all his art to inflame the discontent and jealousy of that prince; and he persuaded him, that the only means of freeing himself from the indignities under which he laboured, was to bring the base stranger to the fate which he had so well merited, and which was so passionately desired by the whole nation. George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, concurred in the same advice; and the lords Ruthven and Lindesay, being consulted, offered their assistance in the enterprise; nor was even the earl of Lenox the King's father, averse to the design. But as these conspirators were well acquainted with Henry's levity, they engaged him to sign a paper, in which he avowed the undertaking, as tending to the glory of God and advancement of religion, and promised to protect them against every consequence which might ensue upon the assassination of Rizzio. All these measures being concerted, a messenger was dispatched to the banished lords, who were hovering near the borders; and they were invited by the king to return to their native country.

This design, so atrocious in itself, was rendered still more so by the circumstances which attended its execution. Mary, who was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private, and had at table the countess of Argyle, her natural sister, with Rizzio, and others of her servants. The king entered the room by a private passage, and stood at the back of Mary's chair: Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators, being all armed, rushed in after him; and the queen of Scots, terrified with the appearance, demanded of them

the reason of this rude intrusion. They told her, that they intended no violence against her person; but meant only to bring that villain, pointing at Rizzio, to his deserved punishment. Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind his mistress, and seizing her by the waist, called aloud to her for protection; while she interposed in his behalf, with cries, menaces, and entreaties. The impatient assassins regardless of her efforts, rushed upon their prey, and by overturning every thing which stood in their way, increased the horror and confusion of the scene. Douglas, seizing Henry's dagger, stuck it in the body of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators, and pushed into the antichamber, where he was dispatched with fifty-six wounds. The unhappy princess, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and said, She would weep no more, she would now think of revenge. The insult, indeed, upon her person; the stain attempted to be fixed on her honour; the danger to which her life was exposed, on account of her pregnancy; were injuries so atrocious, and so complicated, that they scarcely left room for pardon, even from the greatest lenity and mercy.

The assassins, apprehensive of Mary's resentment, detained her prisoner in the palace; and the king dismissed all who seemed willing to attempt her rescue, by telling them, that nothing was done without his orders, and that he would be careful of the queen's safety. Murray, and the banished lords, appeared two days after; and Mary, whose anger was now engrossed by injuries more recent and violent, was willingly reconciled to them; and she even received her brother with tenderness and affection. They obtained an acquittal from parliament, and were reinstated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices also in Rizzio's murder applied to her for a pardon: but she artfully delayed compliance, and persuaded them, that so long as she was detained in custody, and was surrounded by guards, any deed, which she should sign, would have no vali-

validity. Meanwhile, she had gained the confidence of her husband, by her persuasions and caresses; and no sooner were the guards withdrawn, than she engaged him to escape with her in the night-time, and take shelter in Dunbar. Many of her subjects here offered her their services; and Mary, having collected an army, which the conspirators had no power to resist, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. They made applications however to the earl of Bothwel, a new favourite of Mary's; and that nobleman, desirous of strengthening his party by the accession of their interest, was able to pacify her resentment; and he soon after procured them liberty to return into their own country.

The vengeance of the queen of Scots was implacable against her husband alone, whose person was before disagreeable to her, and who, by his violation of every tie of gratitude and duty, had now drawn on him her highest resentment. She engaged him to disown all connections with the assassins, to deny any concurrence in their crime, even to publish a proclamation, containing a falsehood so notorious to the whole world; and having thus made him expose himself to universal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him ever to acquire the confidence of any party, she threw him off with disdain and indignation. As if she had been making an escape from him, she suddenly withdrew to Alloa, a seat of the earl of Mar; and when Henry followed her thither, she suddenly returned to Edinburgh: and gave him every where the strongest proofs of displeasure, and even of antipathy. She encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him; and she was pleased, that his mean equipage, and small train of attendants, should draw on him the contempt of the very populace. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, which Mary had chosen for the place of her delivery. She there brought forth a son; and as this was very important news to

England, as well as to Scotland, ſhe immediately diſpatched ſir James Melvil to carry intelligence of the happy event to Elizabeth. Melvil tells us, that this princeſs, the evening of his arrival in London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, and was diſplaying all that ſpirit and alacrity which uſually attended her on theſe occaſions: But when news arrived of the prince of Scotland's birth, all her joy was damped: She ſunk into melancholy; ſhe reclined her head upon her arm: and complained to ſome of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair ſon, while ſhe herſelf was but a barren ſtock. Next day, however, at the reception of the ambaſſador, ſhe reſumed her former diſſimulation, put on a joyful countenance, gave Melvil thanks for the haſte he had made in conveying to her the agreeable intelligence, and expreſſed the utmoſt cordiality and friendſhip to her ſiſter. Sometime after, ſhe diſpatched the earl of Bedford, with her kinſman George Cary, ſon of lord Hunſdon, in order to officiate at the baptiſm of the young prince; and ſhe ſent by them ſome magnificent preſents to the queen of Scots.

The birth of a ſon gave additional zeal to Mary's partiſans in England; and even men of the moſt oppoſite parties began to cry aloud for ſome ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. Theſe humours broke out with great vehemence in a new ſeſſion of parliment, held after ſix prorogations. The houſe of peers, which had hitherto forborne to touch on this delicate point, here took the lead; and the houſe of commons ſoon after imitated the zeal of the lords. Molineux opened the matter in the lower houſe, and propoſed that the queſtion of the ſucceſſion and that of ſupply ſhould go hand in hand; as if it were intended to conſtrain the queen to a compliance with the requeſt of her parliament. The courtiers endeavoured to elude the debate: Sir Ralph Sadler told the houſe, that he had heard the queen poſitively affirm, that, for the good of her people, ſhe was determined to marry. Secretary Cecil and ſir Francis Knollys gave

their

their teſtimony to the ſame purpoſe; as did alſo ſir Ambroſe Cave, chancellor of the duchy, and ſir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the houſehold. Elizabeth's ambitious and maſculine character was ſo well known, that few members gave any credit to this intelligence; and it was conſidered merely as an artifice, by which ſhe endeavoured to retract that poſitive declaration, which ſhe had made in the beginning of her reign, that ſhe meant to live and die a virgin. The miniſters, therefore, gained nothing farther by this piece of policy, than only to engage the houſe, for the ſake of decency, to join the queſtion of the queen's marriage with that of a ſettlement of the crown; and the commons were proceeding with great earneſtneſs in the debate, and had even appointed a committee to confer with the lords, when expreſs orders were brought them from Elizabeth not to proceed farther in the matter. Cecil told them, that ſhe pledged to the houſe the word of a queen for her ſincerity in her intentions to marry; that the appointment of a ſucceſſor would be attended with great danger to her perſon; that ſhe herſelf had had experience, during the reign of her ſiſter, how much court was uſually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous ſacrifices men were commonly diſpoſed to make of their preſent duty to their future proſpects; and that ſhe was therefore determined to delay, till a more proper opportunity, the deciſion of that important queſtion. The houſe was not ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and ſtill leſs with the command, prohibiting them all debate on the ſubject. Paul Wentworth, a ſpirited member, went ſo far as to queſtion whether ſuch a prohibition was not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the houſe. Some even ventured to violate that profound reſpect which had hitherto been preſerved to the queen; and they affirmed that ſhe was bound in duty, not only to provide for the happineſs of her ſubjects during her own life, but alſo to pay regard to their future ſecurity, by fixing a ſucceſſor; that, by an oppoſite conduct, ſhe ſhowed her-

ſelf the ſtepmother, not the natural parent, of her people, and would ſeem deſirous, that England ſhould no longer ſubſiſt than ſhe ſhould enjoy the glory and ſatisfaction of governing it; that none but timorous princes, or tyrants, or faint-hearted women, ever ſtood in fear of their ſucceſſors; and that the affections of the people were a firm and impregnable rampart to every ſovereign, who, laying aſide all artifice or bye-ends, had courage and magnanimity to put his whole truſt in that honourable and ſure defence. The queen, hearing of theſe debates, ſent for the ſpeaker, and after reiterating her former prohibition, ſhe bade him inform the houſe, that if any member remained ſtill unſatisfied, he might appear before the privy council, and there give his reaſons. As the members ſhowed a diſpoſition, notwithſtanding theſe peremptory orders, ſtill to proceed upon the queſtion, Elizabeth thought proper, by a meſſage, to revoke them, and to allow the houſe liberty of debate. They were ſo mollified by this gracious condeſcenſion, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more calmneſs and temper; and they even voted her a ſupply, to be levied at three payments, of a ſubſidy and a fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. The queen ſoon after diſſolved the parliament, and told them, with ſome ſharpneſs in the concluſion, that their proceedings had contained much diſſimulation and artifice: that, under the plauſible pretences of marriage and ſucceſſion, many of them covered very malevolent intentions towards her; but that, however, ſhe reaped this advantage from the attempts of theſe men, that ſhe could now diſtinguiſh her friends from her enemies. "But do you think," added ſhe, "that I "am unmindful of your future ſecurity, or will be negligent in ſettling the ſucceſſion? That is the chief "object of my concern; as I know myſelf to be liable to "mortality. Or do you apprehend, that I mean to "encroach on your liberties? No: It was never my "meaning; I only intended to ſtop you before you "approached the precipice. All things have their

„ time; and though you may be bleſſed with a ſove-
" reign more wiſe or more learned than I, yet I aſſure
" you, that no one will ever rule over you, who ſhall
" be more careful of your ſafety. And therefore,
" henceforward, whither I live to ſee the like aſſembly
" or no, or whoever holds the reins of government, let
" me warn you to beware of provoking your ſove-
" reign's patience, ſo far as you have done mine.
" But I ſhall now conclude, that, notwithſtanding the
" diſguſts I have received (for I mean not to part with
" you in anger), the greater part of you may aſſure them-
" ſelves that they go home in their prince's good
" graces."

1567. Elizabeth carried farther her dignity on this occaſion. She had received the ſubſidy without any condition; but as it was believed, that the commons had given her that gratuity with a view of engaging her to yield to their requeſts, ſhe thought proper, on her refuſal, voluntarily to remit the third payment; and ſhe ſaid, that money in her ſubjects' purſes was as good to her as in her own exchequer.

But though the queen was able to elude, for the preſent, the applications of parliament, the friends of the queen of Scots multiplied every day in England; and beſides the catholics, many of whom kept a treaſonable correſpondence with her, and were ready to riſe at her command, the court itſelf of Elizabeth was full of her avowed partiſans. The duke of Norfolk, the earls of Leiceſter, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, and moſt of the conſiderable men in England, except Cecil, ſeemed convinced of the neceſſity of declaring her the ſucceſſor. None but the more zealous proteſtants adhered either to the counteſs of Hertford, or to her aunt, Eleanor counteſs of Cumberland; and as the marriage of the former ſeemed liable to ſome objections, and had been declared invalid, men were alarmed, even on that ſide, with the proſpect of new diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion. Mary's behaviour alſo, ſo moderate towards the proteſ-

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tants, and so gracious towards all men, had procured her universal respect; and the public was willing to ascribe any imprudences, into which she had fallen, to her youth and inexperience. But all these flattering prospects were blasted by the subsequent incidents; where her egregious indiscretions, shall I say, or atrocious crimes, threw her from the height of her prosperity, and involved her in infamy and in ruin.

The earl of Bothwel was of a considerable family and power in Scotland; and though not distinguished by any talents, either of a civil or military nature, he had made a figure in that party, which opposed the greatness of the earl of Murray, and the more rigid reformers. He was a man of profligate manners; had involved his opulent fortune in great debts; and even reduced himself to beggary by his profuse expences; and seemed to have no resource but in separate counsels and enterprises. He had been accused more than once of an attempt to assassinate Murray; and though the frequency of these accusations on all sides diminish somewhat the credit due to any particular imputation, they prove sufficiently the prevalence of that detestable practice in Scotland, and may in that view serve to render such rumours the more credible. This man had of late acquired the favour and entire confidence of Mary; and all her measures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were spread of more particular intimacies between them; and these reports gained ground from the continuance, or rather increase of her hatred towards her husband. That young prince was reduced to such a state of desperation, by the neglects which he underwent from his queen and the courtiers, that he had once resolved to fly secretly into France or Spain, and had even provided a vessel for that purpose. Some of the most considerable nobility, on the other hand, observing her rooted aversion to him, had proposed some expedients for a divorce; and though Mary is said to have spoken honourably on the occasion, and to have embraced the proposal no farther than it should

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be found conſiſtent with her own honour and her ſon's legitimacy, men were inclined to believe, that the difficulty of finding proper means for effecting that purpoſe, was the real cauſe of laying aſide all farther thoughts of it. So far were the ſuſpicions againſt her carried, that when Henry, diſcouraged with the continual proofs of her hatred, left the court and retired to Glaſgow, an illneſs of an extraordinary nature, with which he was ſeized, immediately on his arrival in that place, was univerſally aſcribed by her enemies to a doſe of poiſon, which, it was pretended, ſhe had adminiſtered to him.

While affairs were in this ſituation, all thoſe who wiſhed well to her character, or to public tranquillity, were extremely pleaſed, and ſomewhat ſurpriſed, to hear, that a friendſhip was again conciliated between them, that ſhe had taken a journey to Glaſgow on purpoſe to viſit him during his ſickneſs, that ſhe behaved towards him with great tenderneſs, and that ſhe had brought him along with her, and that ſhe appeared thenceforth determined to live with him on a footing more ſuitable to the connections between them. Henry, naturally uxorious, and not diſtruſting this ſudden reconciliation, put himſelf implicitly into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived in the palace of Holy rood-houſe; but as the ſituation of the place was low, and the concourſe of people about the court was neceſſarily attended with noiſe, which might diſturb him his in preſent infirm ſtate of health, theſe reaſons were aſſigned for fitting up an apartment for him in a ſolitary houſe, at ſome diſtance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary here gave him marks of kindneſs and attachment; ſhe converſed cordially with him; and ſhe lay ſome nights in a room below his; but on the ninth of February, ſhe told him, that ſhe would paſs that night in the palace, becauſe the marriage of one of her ſervants was there to be celebrated in her preſence. About two o'clock in the morning the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noiſe; and was ſtill more

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aſtoniſhed, when it was diſcovered that the noiſe came from the king's houſe, which was blown up by gunpowder; that his dead body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks either of fire, contuſion, or violence appeared upon it.*

No doubt could be entertained but Henry was murdered; and general conjecture ſoon pointed towards the earl of Bothwel as the author of the crime. But as his favour with Mary was viſible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his ſentiments; and all men remained in ſilence and mute aſtoniſhment. Voices, however, were heard in the ſtreets, during the darkneſs of the night, proclaiming Bothwel, and even Mary herſelf, to be murderers of the king; bills were affixed on the walls to the ſame purpoſe; offers were made, that, upon giving proper ſecurities, his guilt ſhould be openly proved. But after one proclamation from the court, offering a reward and indemnity to any one that would diſcover the author of that villainy, greater vigilance was employed in ſearching out the ſpreaders of the libels and reports againſt Bothwel and the queen, than in tracing the contrivers of the king's aſſaſſination, or detecting the regicides.

The earl of Lenox, who lived at a diſtance from court, in poverty and contempt, was rouſed by the report of his ſon's murder, and wrote to the queen, imploring ſpeedy juſtice againſt the aſſaſſins; among whom he named the earl of Bothwel, ſir James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour his brother, David Chalmers, and four others of the queen's houſhold; all of them perſons who had been mentioned in the bills affixed to the walls at Edinburgh. Mary took his demand of ſpeedy juſtice in a very literal ſenſe; and allowing only fifteen days for the examination of this important affair, ſhe

* It was imagined that Henry had been ſtrangled before the houſe was blown up. But this ſuppoſition is contradicted by the confeſſion of the criminals; and there is no neceſſity to admit it in order to account for the condition of his body. There are many inſtances that men's lives have been ſaved, who had been blown up in ſhips. Had Henry fallen on water he had not probably been killed.

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ſent a citation to Lenox, requiring him to appear in court, and prove his charge againſt Bothwel. This nobleman, meanwhile, and all the other perſons accuſed by Lenox, enjoyed their full liberty; Bothwel himſelf was continually ſurrounded with armed men; took his place in council; lived during ſome time in the houſe with Mary; and ſeemed to poſſeſs all his wonted confidence and familiarity with her. Even the caſtle of Edinburgh, a place of great conſequence in this critical time, was entruſted to him, and under him, to his creature, ſir James Balfour, who had himſelf been publicly charged as an accomplice in the king's murder. Lenox, who had come as far as Stirling, with a view of appearing at the trial, was informed of all theſe circumſtances; and reflecting on the ſmall train which attended him, he began to entertain very juſt apprehenſions from the power, inſolence, and temerity of his enemy. He wrote to Mary, deſiring that the day of trial might be prorogued; and conjured her, by all the regard which ſhe bore to her own honour, to employ more leiſure and deliberation in determining a queſtion of ſuch extreme moment. No regard was paid to his application: The jury was encloſed, of which the earl of Caithneſs was chancellor; and though Lenox, foreſeeing this precipitation, had ordered Cuningham, one of his retinue, to appear in court, and proteſt, in his name, againſt the acquittal of the criminal, the jury proceeded to a verdict. The verdict was ſuch as it behoved them to give, where neither accuſer nor witneſs appeared; and Bothwel was abſolved from the king's murder. The jury, however, apprehenſive that their verdict would give great ſcandal, and perhaps expoſe them afterwards to ſome danger, entered a proteſt, in which they repreſented the neceſſity of their proceedings. It is remarkable, that the indictment was laid againſt Bothwel for committing the crime on the ninth of February, not the tenth, the real day on which Henry was aſſaſſinated. The interpretation generally put upon this error, too groſs, it was

thought, to have proceeded from mistake, was, that the secret council, by whom Mary was governed, not trusting entirely to precipitation, violence, and authority, had provided this plea, by which they ensured at all adventures, a plausible pretence for acquitting Bothwel.

Two days after this extraordinary transaction, a parliament was held; and though the verdict in favour of Bothwel, was attended with such circumstances as strongly confirmed, rather than diminished, the general opinion of his guilt, he was the person chosen to carry the royal sceptre on the first meeting of the national assembly. In this parliament, a rigorous act was made against those who set up inflamatory bills; but no notice was taken of the king's murder. The favour which Mary openly bore to Bothwel, kept every one in awe; and the effects of this terror appeared more plainly in another transaction, which ensued immediately upon the dissolution of the parliament. A bond or association was framed; in which the subscribers, after relating the acquittal of Bothwel by a legal trial, and mentioning a farther offer, which he had made, to prove his innocence by single combat, oblige themselves, in case any person should afterwards impute to him the king's murder, to defend him with their whole power against such calumniators. After this promise, which implied no great assurance in Bothwel of his own innocence, the subscribers mentioned the necessity of their queen's marriage, in order to support the government; and they recommended Bothwel to her as a husband. This paper was subscribed by all the considerable nobility there present. In a country divided by violent factions, such a concurrence in favour of one nobleman, nowise distinguished above the rest, except by his flagitious conduct, could never have been obtained, had not every one been certain, at least firmly persuaded, that Mary was fully determined on this measure.* Nor

* Mary herself confessed, in her instructions to the ambassadors, whom she sent to France, that Bothwel persuaded all

would such a motive have sufficed to influence men, commonly so stubborn and intractable, had they not been taken by surprise, been ignorant of each other's sentiments, and overawed by the present power of the court, and by the apprehensions of farther violence, from persons so little governed by any principles of honour and humanity. Even with all these circumstances, the subscription to this paper may justly be regarded as a reproach to the nation.

The subsequent measures of Bothwel were equally precipitate and audacious. Mary having gone to Stirling to pay a visit to her son, he assembled a body of eight hundred horse, on pretence of pursuing some robbers on the borders, and having waylaid her on her return; he seized her person near Edinburgh, and carried her to Dunbar, with an avowed design of forcing her to yield to his purpose. Sir James Melvil, one of her retinue, was carried along with her, and says not, that he saw any signs of reluctance or constraint: He was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwel's officers, that the whole transaction was managed in concert with her. A woman, indeed, of that spirit and resolution, which is acknowledged to belong to Mary, does not usually, on these occasions, give such marks of opposition to *real* violence, as can appear anywise doubtful or ambiguous. Some of the nobility, however, in order to put matters to farther trial, sent her a private message; in which they told her, that if, in reality, she lay under force, they would use all their efforts to rescue her. Her answer was, that she had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but ever since

all the noblemen that their application in favour of his marriage was agreeable to her. Keith, p. 389. Anderson, vol. i. p. 94. Murray afterwards produced to queen Elizabeth's commissioners, a paper signed by Mary, by which she permitted them to make this application to her. This permission was a sufficient declaration of her intentions, and was esteemed equivalent to a command. Anderson, vol. iv. p. 59. They even asserted, that the house in which they met was surrounded with armed men. Goodhall, vol. ii. p. 141.

her arrival had been so well treated, that she willingly remained with Bothwel. No one gave himself thenceforth any concern to relieve her from a captivity, which was believed to proceed entirely from her own approbation and connivance.

This unusual conduct was at first ascribed to Mary's sense of the infamy attending her purposed marriage; and her desire of finding some colour to gloss over the irregularity of her conduct. But a pardon, given to Bothwel a few days after, made the public carry their conjectures somewhat farther. In this deed, Bothwel received a pardon for the violence committed on the queen's person; and for *all other crimes*: A clause, by which the murder of the king was indirectly forgiven. The rape was then conjectured to have been only a contrivance, in order to afford a pretence for indirectly remitting a crime, of which it would have appeared scandalous to make openly any mention.

These events passed with such rapidity, that men had no leisure to admire sufficiently one incident, when they were surprised with a new one equally rare and uncommon. There still, however, remained one difficulty, which it was not easy to foresee how the queen and Bothwel, determined as they were to execute their shameful purpose, could find expedients to overcome. The man who had procured the subscription of the nobility, recommending him as a husband to the queen, and who had acted this seeming violence on her person, in order to force her consent, had been married two years before to another woman; to a woman of merit, of a noble family, sister to the earl of Huntley. But persons blinded by passion, and infatuated with crimes, soon shake off all appearance of decency. A suit was commenced for a divorce between Bothwel and his wife; and this suit was opened at the same instant in two different, or rather opposite courts; in the court of the archbishop of St. Andrews, which was popish, and governed itself by the canon law; and in the new consistorial or commissarial court, which was protestant,

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and was regulated by the principles of the reformed teachers. The plea, advanced in each court, was ſo calculated as to ſuit the principles which there prevailed: In the archbiſhop's court, the pretence of conſanguinity was employed, becauſe Bothwel was related to his wife in the fourth degree; in the commiſſarial court, the accuſation of adultery was made uſe of againſt him. The parties too, who applied for the divorce, were different in the different courts: Bothwel was the perſon who ſued in the former; his wife in the latter. And the ſuit in both courts was opened, pleaded, examined, and decided with the utmoſt precipitation; and a ſentence of divorce was pronounced in four days.

The divorce being thus obtained, it was thought proper that Mary ſhould be conducted to Edinburgh, and ſhould there appear before the courts of judicature, and ſhould acknowledge herſelf reſtored to entire freedom. This was underſtood to be contrived in a view of obviating all doubts with regard to the validity of her marriage. Orders were then given to publiſh in the church the bands between the queen and the duke of Orkney; for that was the title which he now bore; and Craig, a miniſter of Edinburgh, was applied to for that purpoſe. This clergyman, not content with having refuſed compliance, publicly in his ſermons condemned the marriage; and exhorted all who had acceſs to the queen, to give her their advice againſt ſo ſcandalous an alliance. Being called before the council, to anſwer for this liberty, he ſhowed a courage, which might cover all the nobles with ſhame, on account of their tameneſs and ſervility. He ſaid, that, by the rules of the church, the earl of Bothwel, being convicted of adultery, could not be permitted to marry; that the divorce between him and his former wife was plainly procured by colluſion, as appeared by the precipitation of the ſentence, and the ſudden concluſion of his marriage with the queen; and that all the ſuſpicions which prevailed, with regard to the king's murder, and the queen's concurrence in the former rape, would thence

receive undoubted confirmation. He therefore exhorted Bothwel, who was present, no longer to persevere in his present criminal enterprises; and turning his discourse to the other counsellors, he charged them to employ all their influence with the queen, in order to divert her from a measure, which would load her with eternal infamy and dishonour. Not satisfied even with this admonition, he took the first opportunity of informing the public, from the pulpit, of the whole transaction, and expressed to them his fears, that, notwithstanding all remonstrances, their sovereign was still obstinately bent on her fatal purpose. "For himself," he said, "he had already discharged his conscience, and yet "again would take heaven and earth to witness, that "he abhorred and detested that marriage, as scandalous "and hateful in the sight of mankind: But, since the "Great, as he perceived, either by their flattery or "silence, gave countenance to the measure, he be-"sought the Faithful to pray fervently to the Almighty, "that a resolution, taken contrary to all law, reason, "and good conscience, might, by the divine blessing, "be turned to the comfort and benefit of the church "and kingdom." These speeches offended the court extremely; and Craig was anew summoned before the council, to answer for his temerity, in thus passing the bounds of his commission. But he told them, that the bounds of his commission were the word of God, good laws, and natural reason; and were the queen's marriage tried by any of these standards, it would appear infamous and dishonourable, and would be so esteemed by the whole world. The council were so overawed by this heroic behaviour in a private clergyman, that they dismissed him without farther censure or punishment.

But though this transaction might have recalled Bothwel and the queen of Scots from their infatuation, and might have instructed them in the dispositions of the people, as well as in their own inability to oppose them; they were still resolute to rush forward to their

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own manifeſt deſtruction. The marriage was ſolemnized by the biſhop of Orkney, a proteſtant, who was afterwards depoſed by the church for this ſcandalous compliance. Few of the nobility appeared at the ceremony: They had, moſt of them, either from ſhame or fear, retired to their own houſes. The French ambaſſador, Le Croc, an aged gentleman of honour and character, could not be prevailed on, though a dependant of the houſe of Guiſe, to countenance the marriage by his preſence. Elizabeth remonſtrated, by friendly letters and meſſages, againſt the marriage: The court of France made like oppoſition; but Mary, though on all other occaſions ſhe was extremely obſequious to the advice of her relations in that country, was here determined to pay no regard to their opinion.

The news of theſe tranſactions, being carried to foreign countries, filled Europe with amazement, and threw infamy, not only on the principal actors in them, but alſo on the whole nation, who ſeemed, by their ſubmiſſion and ſilence, and even by their declared approbation, to give their ſanction to theſe ſcandalous practices. The Scots, who reſided abroad, met with ſuch reproaches, that they durſt nowhere appear in public; and they earneſtly exhorted their countrymen at home to free them from the public odium, by bringing to condign puniſhment the authors of ſuch atrocious crimes. This intelligence, with a little more leiſure for reflection, roufed men from their lethargy; and the rumours which, from the very beginning, had been ſpread againſt Mary, as if ſhe had concurred in the king's murder, ſeemed now, by the ſubſequent tranſactions, to have received a ſtrong confirmation and authority. It was everywhere ſaid, that even though no particular and direct proofs had as yet been pronounced of the queen's guilt, the whole tenour of her late conduct was ſufficient, not only to beget ſuſpicion, but to produce entire conviction againſt her: That her ſudden reſolution of being reconciled to her huſband, whom before ſhe had long and juſtly hated; her bringing him to court, from

which she had banished him by neglects and rigours; her fitting up separate apartments for him; were all of them circumstances which, though trivial in themselves, yet, being compared with the subsequent events, bore a very unfavourable aspect for her: That the least which, after the king's murder, might have been expected in her situation, was a more than usual caution in her measures, and an extreme anxiety to punish the real assassins, in order to free herself from all reproach and suspicion: That no woman, who had any regard to her character, would allow a man, publicly accused of her husband's murder, so much as to approach her presence, far less give him a share in her counsels, and endow him with favour and authority: That an acquittal, merely in the absence of accusers, was very ill fitted to satisfy the public; especially if that absence proceeded from a designed precipitation of the sentence, and from the terror which her known friendship for the criminal had infused into every one: That the very mention of her marriage to such a person, in such circumstances, was horrible; and the contrivances of extorting a consent from the nobility, and of concerting a rape, were gross artifices, more proper to discover her guilt than prove her innocence: That where a woman thus shews a consciousness of merited reproach, and, instead of correcting, provides only thin glosses to cover her exceptionable conduct, she betrays a neglect of fame, which must either be the effect or the cause of the most shameful enormities: That to espouse a man, who had, a few days before, been so scandalously divorced from his wife; who, to say the least, was believed to have, a few months before, assassinated her husband, was so contrary to the plainest rules of behaviour, that no pretence of indiscretion or imprudence could account for such a conduct: That a woman, who so soon after her husband's death, though not attended with any extraordinary circumstances, contracts a marriage, which might in itself be the most blameless, cannot escape severe censure; but one who overlooks, for her plea-

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fure, ſo many other weighty conſiderations, was equally capable, in gratifying her appetites, to neglect every regard to honour and to humanity: That Mary was not ignorant of the prevailing opinion of the public with regard to her own guilt, and of the inferences which would every where be drawn from her conduct; and therefore, if ſhe ſtill continued to purſue meaſures which gave ſuch juſt offence, ſhe ratified, by her actions, as much as ſhe could by the moſt formal confeſſion, all the ſurmiſes and imputations of her enemies: That a prince was here murdered in the face of the world; Bothwel alone was ſuſpected and accuſed; if he were innocent, nothing could abſolve him, either in Mary's eyes or thoſe of the public, but the detection and conviction of the real aſſaſſin; yet no inquiry was made to that purpoſe, though a parliament had been aſſembled; the ſovereign and wife was here plainly ſilent from guilt, the people from terror: That the only circumſtance which oppoſed all theſe preſumptions, or rather proofs, was the benignity and goodneſs of her preceding behaviour, which ſeemed to remove her from all ſuſpicions of ſuch atrocious inhumanity; but that the characters of men were extremely variable, and perſons guilty of the worſt actions were not always of the worſt and moſt criminal diſpoſitions: That a woman who, in a critical and dangerous moment, had ſacrificed her honour to a man of abandoned principle, might thenceforth be led blindfold by him to the commiſſion of the moſt enormous crimes, and was in reality no longer at her own diſpoſal: And that, though one ſuppoſition was ſtill left to alleviate her blame, namely, that Bothwel, preſuming on her affection towards him, had of himſelf committed the crime, and had never communicated it to her, yet ſuch a ſudden and paſſionate love to a man, whom ſhe had long known, could not eaſily be accounted for, without ſuppoſing ſome degree of preceding guilt; and as it appeared that ſhe was not afterwards reſtrained, either by ſhame or prudence, from incurring the

the higheſt reproach and danger, it was not likely that a ſenſe of duty or humanity would have a more powerful influence over her.

Theſe were the ſentiments which prevailed throughout Scotland; and as the proteſtant teachers, who had great authority, had long borne an implacable hatred to Mary, the opinion of her guilt was, by their means, the more widely diffuſed, and made the deeper impreſſion on the people. Some attempts made by Bothwel, and, as is pretended, with her conſent, to get the young prince into his power, excited the moſt ſerious attention; and the principal nobility, even many of thoſe who had formerly been conſtrained to ſign the application in favour of Bothwel's marriage, met at Stirling, and formed an aſſociation for protecting the prince, and puniſhing the king's murderers. The earl of Athol himſelf, a known catholic, was the firſt author of this confederacy: The earls of Argyle, Morton, Marre, Glencarne, the lords Boyd, Lindeſey, Hume, Semple, Kirkaldy of Grange, Tullibardine, and ſecretary Lidington, entered zealouſly into it. The earl of Murray, foreſeeing ſuch turbulent times, and being deſirous to keep free of theſe dangerous factions, had, ſome time before, deſired and obtained Mary's permiſſion to retire into France.

Lord Hume was firſt in arms; and leading a body of eight hundred horſe, ſuddenly environed the queen of Scots and Bothwel in the caſtle of Borthwic. They found means of making their eſcape to Dunbar; while the confederate lords were aſſembling their troops at Edinburgh, and taking meaſures to effect their purpoſe. Had Bothwel been ſo prudent as to keep within the fortreſs of Dunbar, his enemies muſt have diſperſed for want of pay and ſubſiſtence; but hearing that the aſſociated lords were fallen into diſtreſs, he was ſo raſh as to take the field, and advance towards them. The armies met at Carberry Hill, about ſix miles from Edinburgh; and Mary ſoon became ſenſible that her own troops diſapproved of her cauſe, and were averſe to

ſpill

ſpill their blood in the quarrel. After ſome bravadoes of Bothwel, where he diſcovered very little courage, ſhe ſaw no reſource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, and of putting herſelf, upon ſome general promiſes, into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amidſt the inſults of the populace; who reproached her with her crimes; and even held before her eyes, which way ſoever ſhe turned, a banner, on which were painted the murder of her huſband, and the diſtreſs of her infant ſon. Mary, overwhelmed with her calamities, had recourſe to tears and lamentations. Meanwhile Bothwel, during her conference with Grange, fled, unattended, to Dunbar; and fitting out a few ſmall ſhips, ſet ſail for the Orknies, where he ſubſiſted during ſome time by piracy. He was purſued thither by Grange, and his ſhip was taken, with ſeveral of his ſervants, who afterwards diſcovered all the circumſtances of the king's murder, and were puniſhed for the crime. Bothwel himſelf eſcaped in a boat, and found means to get a paſſage to Denmark, where he was thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and died miſerably about ten years after: An end worthy of his flagitious conduct and behaviour.

The queen of Scots, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with ſuch treatment as a ſovereign may naturally expect from ſubjects who have their future ſecurity to provide for, as well as their preſent animoſity to gratify. It is pretended, that ſhe behaved with a ſpirit very little ſuitable to her condition, avowed her inviolable attachment to Bothwel, and even wrote him a letter, which the lords intercepted, where ſhe declared, that ſhe would endure any extremity, nay reſign her dignity and crown itſelf, rather than relinquiſh his affections *. The malcontents, finding the danger to which they were expoſed, in caſe Mary ſhould finally

* Melvil, p. 84. The reality of this letter appears ſomewhat diſputable; chiefly becauſe Murray and his aſſociates never mentioned it in their accuſation of her before queen Elizabeth's commiſſioners.

prevail,

prevail, thought themselves obliged to proceed with rigour against her; and they sent her, next day, under a guard to the castle of Lochlevin, situated in a lake of that name. The mistress of the house was mother to the earl of Murray; and as she pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king of Scots, she naturally bore an animosity to Mary, and treated her with the utmost harshness and severity.

Elizabeth, who was fully informed of all these incidents, seemed touched with compassion towards the unfortunate queen; and all her fears and jealousies being now laid asleep, by the consideration of that ruin and infamy in which Mary's conduct had involved her, she began to reflect on the instability of human affairs, the precarious state of royal grandeur, the danger of encouraging rebellious subjects; and she resolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinswoman. She sent sir Nicholas Throgmorton ambassador to Scotland, in order to remonstrate both with Mary and the associated lords; and she gave him instructions, which, though mixed with some lofty pretensions, were full of that good sense which was so natural to her, and of that generosity which the present interesting conjuncture had called forth. She empowered him to declare in her name to Mary, that the late conduct of that princess, so enormous, and, in every respect, so unjustifiable, had given her the highest offence; and, though she felt the movements of pity towards her, she had once determined never to interpose in her affairs, either by advice or assistance, but to abandon her entirely, as a person whose condition was totally desperate, and honour irretrievable: That she was well assured that other foreign princes, Mary's near relations, had embraced the same resolution; but, for her part, the late events had touched her heart with more tender sympathy, and had made her adopt measures more favourable to the liberty and interests of the unhappy queen: That she was determined not to see her oppressed by her rebellious subjects, but would employ all her good offices, and even

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her power, to redeem her from captivity, and place her in such a condition as would at once be compatible with her dignity, and the safety of her subjects: That she conjured her to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, except against the murderers of her husband; and as she herself was his near relation, she was better entitled than the subjects of Mary to interpose her authority on that head, and she therefore besought that princess, if she had any regard to her own honour and safety, not to oppose so just and reasonable a demand: That after those two points were provided for, her own liberty, and the punishment of her husband's assassins, the safety of her infant son was next to be considered; and there seemed no expedient more proper for that purpose than sending him to be educated in England: And that, besides the security which would attend his removal from a scene of faction and convulsions, there were many other beneficial consequences, which it was easy to foresee, as the result of his education in that country.

The remonstrances which Throgmorton was instructed to make to the associated lords, were entirely conformable to these sentiments which Elizabeth entertained in Mary's favour. She empowered him to tell them, that, whatever blame she might throw on Mary's conduct, any opposition to their sovereign was totally unjustifiable, and incompatible with all order and good government: That it belonged not to them to reform, much less to punish, the mal-administration of their prince; and the only arms which subjects could in any case lawfully employ against the supreme authority, were entreaties, counsels and remonstrances: That if these expedients failed, they were next to appeal by their prayers to heaven; and to wait with patience till the Almighty, in whose hands are the hearts of princes, should be pleased to turn them to justice and to mercy: That she inculcated not this doctrine, because she herself was interested in its observance; but because it was universally received in all well-governed states, and was essential to the preservation of civil society: that she required them

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to reſtore their queen to liberty; and promiſed, in that caſe, to concur with them in all proper expedients for regulating the government, for puniſhing the king's murderers, and for guarding the life and liberty of the infant prince: And that if the ſervices which ſhe had lately rendered the Scottiſh nation, in protecting them from foreign uſurpation, were duly conſidered by them, they would repoſe confidence in her good offices, and would eſteem themſelves blame-worthy in having hitherto made no application to her.

Elizabeth, beſides theſe remonſtrances, ſent, by Throgmorton, ſome articles of accommodation, which he was to propoſe to both parties, as expedients for the ſettlement of public affairs; and though theſe articles contained ſome important reſtraints on the ſovereign power, they were, in the main, calculated for Mary's advantage, and were ſufficiently indulgent to her. The aſſociated lords, who determined to proceed with greater ſeverity, were apprehenſive of Elizabeth's partiality; and being ſenſible that Mary would take courage from the protection of that powerful princeſs, they thought proper, after ſeveral affected delays, to refuſe the Engliſh ambaſſador all acceſs to her. There were four different ſchemes propoſed in Scotland, for the treatment of the captive queen: One that ſhe ſhould be reſtored to her authority under very ſtrict limitations: The ſecond that ſhe ſhould be obliged to reſign her crown to the prince, be baniſhed the kingdom, and be confined either to France or England; with aſſurances from the ſovereign, in whoſe dominions ſhe ſhould reſide, that ſhe ſhould make no attempts to the diſturbance of the eſtabliſhed government: The third, that ſhe ſhould be publicly tried for her crimes, of which her enemies pretended to have undoubted proof, and be ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment: The fourth was ſtill more ſevere, and required, that, after her trial and condemnation, capital puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon her. Throgmorton ſupported the mildeſt propoſal; but though he promiſed his miſtreſs's guarantee for the performance of articles,

threatened

threatened the ruling party with immediate vengeance in case of refusal, and warned them not to draw on themselves, by their violence, the public reproach, which now lay upon their queen: he found that, excepting secretary Lidington, he had not the good fortune to convince any of the leaders. All counsels seemed to tend towards the more severe expedients; and the preachers, in particular, drawing their examples from the rigorous maxims of the Old Testament, which can only be warranted by particular revelations, inflamed the minds of the people against their unhappy sovereign.

There were several pretenders to the regency of the young prince after the intended deposition of Mary. The earl of Lenox claimed that authority as grandfather to the prince: The duke of Chatelrault, who was absent in France, had pretensions as next heir to the crown: But the greatest number of the associated lords inclined to the earl of Murray, in whose capacity they had entire trust, and who possessed the confidence of the preachers and more zealous reformers. All measures being therefore concerted, three instruments were sent to Mary, by the hands of lord Lindesey and sir Robert Melvil, by one of which she was to resign the crown in favour of her son, by another to appoint Murray regent, by the third to name a council, which should administer the government till his arrival in Scotland. The queen of Scots, seeing no prospect of relief, lying justly under apprehensions for her life, and believing that no deed which she executed during her captivity could be valid, was prevailed on, after a plentiful effusion of tears, to sign these three instruments; and she took not the trouble of inspecting any one of them. In consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI. He was soon after crowned at Stirling, and the earl of Morton took, in his name, the coronation oath; in which a promise to extirpate heresy was not forgotten. Some republican pretensions in favour of the people's power were countenanced in this ceremony; and a coin was

soon after struck, on which the famous saying of Trajan was inscribed, *Pro me; si merear, in me:* For me; if I deserve it, against me. Throgmorton had orders from his mistress not to assist at the coronation of the king of Scots.

The council of regency had not long occasion to exercise their authority. The earl of Murray arrived from France, and took possession of his high office. He paid a visit to the captive queen; and spoke to her in a manner which better suited her past conduct than her present condition. This harsh treatment quite extinguished in her breast any remains of affection towards him. Murray proceeded afterwards to break, in a more public manner, all terms of decency with her. He summoned a parliament; and that assembly, after voting that she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her demission of the crown, and acknowledged her son for king, and Murray for regent. The regent, a man of vigour and abilities, employed himself successfully in reducing the kingdom. He bribed sir James Balfour to surrender the castle of Edinburgh: He constrained the garrison of Dunbar to open their gates: And he demolished that fortress.

But though every thing thus bore a favourable aspect to the new government, and all men seemed to acquiesce in Murray's authority; a violent revolution, however necessary, can never be effected without great discontents; and it was not likely that, in a country where the government, in its most settled state, possessed a very disjointed authority, a new establishment should meet with no interruption or disturbance. Few considerable men of the nation seemed willing to support Mary, so long as Bothwel was present; but the removal of that obnoxious nobleman had altered the sentiments of many. The duke of Chatelrault, being disappointed of the regency, bore no good-will to Murray; and the same sentiments were embraced by all his numerous retainers: Several of the nobility, finding that others had

had taken the lead among the associators, formed a faction apart, and opposed the prevailing power: And besides their being moved by some remains of duty and affection towards Mary, the malcontent lords, observing every thing carried to extremity against her, were naturally led to embrace her cause, and shelter themselves under her authority. All who retained any propensity to the catholic religion, were induced to join this party; and even the people in general, though they had formerly either detested Mary's crimes, or blamed her imprudence, were now inclined to compassionate her present situation, and lament that a person, possessed of so many amiable accomplishments, so red to such high dignity, should be treated with such extreme severity. Animated by all these motives, many of the principal nobility, now adherents to the queen of Scots, met at Hamilton, and concerted measures for supporting the cause of that princess.

1568. While these humours were in fermentation, Mary was employed in contrivances for effecting her escape; and she engaged, by her charms and caresses, a young gentleman, George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochlevin, to assist her in that enterprise. She even went so far as to give him hopes of espousing her, after her marriage with Bothwel should be dissolved, on the plea of force; and she proposed this expedient to the regent, who rejected it. Douglas, however, persevered in his endeavours to free her from captivity; and having all opportunities of access to the house, he was at last successful in the undertaking. He conveyed her in disguise into a small boat, and himself rowed her ashore. She hastened to Hamilton; and the news of her arrival in that place being immediately spread abroad, many of the nobility flocked to her with their forces. A band of association for her defence was signed by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglington, Crawford, Cassilis, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, nine bishops, and nine barons, besides many of the most considerable gentry. And in a few days an

army, to the number of six thousand men, was assembled under her standard.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of Mary's escape, than she discovered her resolution of persevering in the same generous and friendly measures which she had hitherto pursued. If she had not employed force against the regent, during the imprisonment of that princess, she had been chiefly withheld by the fear of pushing him to greater extremities against her; but she had proposed to the court of France an expedient, which, though less violent, would have been no less effectual for her service: She desired that France and England should, by concert, cut off all commerce with the Scots, till they should do justice to their injured sovereign. She now dispatched Leighton into Scotland to offer both her good offices, and the assistance of her forces, to Mary: but as she apprehended the entrance of French troops into the kingdom, she desired that the controversy between the queen of Scots and her subjects might by that princess be referred entirely to her arbitration, and that no foreign succours should be introduced into Scotland.

But Elizabeth had not leisure to exert fully her efforts in favour of Mary. The regent made haste to assemble forces; and, notwithstanding that his army was inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which was entirely decisive in favour of the regent; and though Murray, after his victory, stopped the bloodshed, yet was the action followed by a total dispersion of the queen's party. That unhappy princess fled southwards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came, with a few attendants, to the borders of England. She here deliberated concerning her next measures, which would probably prove so important to her future happiness or misery. She found it impossible to remain in her own kingdom: She had an aversion, in her present wretched condition, to return into France, where she had formerly

appeared

appeared with so much splendour; and she was not, besides, provided with a vessel, which could safely convey her thither: The late generous behaviour of Elizabeth made her hope for protection, and even assistance, from that quarter; and as the present fears from her domestic enemies were the most urgent, she overlooked all other considerations, and embraced the resolution of taking shelter in England. She embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle; whence she immediately dispatched a messenger to London; notifying her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elizabeth, and craving her protection, in consequence of former professions of friendship made her by that princess.

Elizabeth now found herself in a situation when it was become necessary to take some decisive resolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and as she had hitherto, contrary to the opinion of Cecil, attended more to the motives of generosity than of policy, she was engaged by that prudent minister to weigh anew all the considerations which occurred in this critical conjuncture. He represented, that the party which had dethroned Mary, and had at present assumed the government of Scotland, was always attached to the English alliance, and was engaged, by all the motives of religion and of interest, to persevere in their connection with Elizabeth: That though Murray and his friends might complain of some unkind usage during their banishment in England, they would easily forget these grounds of quarrel, when they reflected that Elizabeth was the only ally on whom they could safely rely, and that their own queen, by her attachment to the catholic faith, and by her other connections, excluded them entirely from the friendship of France, and even from that of Spain: That Mary, on the other hand, even before her violent breach with her protestant subjects, was, in secret, entirely governed by the counsels of the house of Guise; much more would she implicitly comply with

their views, when, by her own ill-conduct, the power of that family and of the zealous catholics was become her sole resource and security: That her pretensions to the English crown would render her a dangerous instrument in their hands; and, were she once able to suppress the protestants in her own kingdom, she would unite the Scottish and English catholics, with those of all foreign states, in a confederacy against the religion and government of England: That it behoved Elizabeth, therefore, to proceed with caution in the design of restoring her rival to the throne; and to take care, both that this enterprise, if undertaken, should be effected by English forces alone, and that full securities should beforehand be provided for the reformers and the reformation in Scotland: That above all, it was necessary to guard carefully the person of that princess; lest, finding this unexpected reserve in the English friendship, she should suddenly take the resolution of flying into France, and should attempt, by foreign force, to recover possession of her authority: That her desperate fortunes, and broken reputation, fitted her for any attempt; and her resentment, when she should find herself thus deserted by the queen, would concur with her ambition and her bigotry, and render her an unrelenting, as well as powerful, enemy to the English government: That if she were once abroad, in the hands of enterprising catholics, the attack on England would appear to her as easy as that on Scotland; and the only method, she must imagine, of recovering her native kingdom, would be to acquire that crown, to which she would deem herself equally entitled: That a neutrality in such interesting situations, though it might be pretended, could never, without the most extreme danger, be upheld by the queen; and the detention of Mary was equally requisite, whether the power of England were to be employed in her favour, or against her: That nothing, indeed, was more becoming a great prince than generosity; yet the suggestions of this noble principle could never, without imprudence, be consulted in such

ſuch delicate circumſtances as thoſe in which the queen was at preſent placed; where her own ſafety and the intereſts of her people were intimately concerned in every reſolution which ſhe embraced: That though the example of ſucceſsful rebellion, eſpecially in a neighbouring country, could nowiſe be agreeable to any ſovereign, yet Mary's imprudence had been ſo great, perhaps her crimes ſo enormous, that the inſurrection of ſubjects, after ſuch provocation, could no longer be regarded as a precedent againſt other princes: That it was firſt neceſſary for Elizabeth to aſcertain, in a regular and ſatisfactory manner, the extent of Mary's guilt, and thence to determine the degree of protection which ſhe ought to afford her againſt her diſcontented ſubjects: That as no glory could ſurpaſs that of defending oppreſſed innocence, it was equally infamous to patronize vice and murder on the throne; and the contagion of ſuch diſhonour would extend itſelf to all who countenanced or ſupported it: And that, if the crimes of the Scottiſh princeſs ſhould, on inquiry, appear as great and certain as was affirmed and believed, every meaſure againſt her, which policy ſhould dictate, would thence be juſtified; or if ſhe ſhould be found innocent, every enterpriſe, which friendſhip ſhould inſpire, would be acknowledged laudable and glorious.

Agreeably to theſe views, Elizabeth reſolved to proceed in a ſeemingly-generous, but really cautious, manner, with the queen of Scots; and ſhe immediately ſent orders to lady Scrope, ſiſter to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in the neighbourhood, to attend on that princeſs. Soon after, ſhe diſpatched to her lord Scrope himſelf, warden of the marches, and ſir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain. They found Mary already lodged in the caſtle of Cariſle; and, after expreſſing the queen's ſympathy with her in her late misfortunes, they told her, that her requeſt of being allowed to viſit their ſovereign, and of being admitted to her preſence, could not at preſent be complied with: Till ſhe had cleared herſelf of her huſband's murder, of which ſhe

was

was so strongly accused, Elizabeth could not, without dishonour, show her any countenance, or appear indifferent to the assassination of so near a kinsman. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the necessity of her situation extorted from her a declaration, that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and would submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend. Two days after she sent lord Herries to London with a letter to the same purpose.

This concession, which Mary could scarcely avoid, without an acknowledgment of guilt, was the point expected and desired by Elizabeth: She immediately dispatched Midlemore to the regent of Scotland; requiring him both to desist from the farther prosecution of his queen's party, and send some persons to London to justify his conduct with regard to her. Murray might justly be startled at receiving a message so violent and imperious; but as his domestic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the sole ally which he could expect among foreign nations, he was resolved rather to digest the affront, than provoke Elizabeth by a refusal. He also considered, that though that queen had hitherto appeared partial to Mary, many political motives evidently engaged her to support the king's cause in Scotland; and it was not to be doubted but so penetrating a princess would in the end discover this interest, and would at least afford him a patient and equitable hearing. He therefore replied, that he would himself take a journey to England, attended by other commissioners; and would willingly submit the determination of his cause to Elizabeth.

Lord Herries now perceived, that his mistress had advanced too far in her concessions: He endeavoured to maintain, that Mary could not, without diminution of her royal dignity, submit to a contest with her rebellious subjects before a foreign prince; and he required either present aid from England, or liberty for his queen to pass over into France. Being pressed, however, with the

the former agreement before the English council, he again renewed his consent; but in a few days he began anew to recoil; and it was with some difficulty that he was brought to acquiesce in the first determination. These fluctuations, which were incessantly renewed, showed his visible reluctance to the measures pursued by the court of England.

The queen of Scots discovered no less aversion to the trial proposed; and it required all the artifice and prudence of Elizabeth to make her persevere in the agreement to which she at first consented. This latter princess still said to her, that she desired not, without Mary's consent or approbation, to enter into the question, and pretended only as a friend, to hear her justification: That she was confident there would be found no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and even if her apology should fall short of full conviction, Elizabeth was determined to support her cause, and procure her some reasonable terms of accommodation: And that it was never meant, that she should be cited to a trial on the accusation of her rebellious subjects; but, on the contrary, that they should be summoned to appear, and to justify themselves for their conduct towards her. Allured by these plausible professions, the queen of Scots agreed to vindicate herself by her own commissioners before commissioners, appointed by Elizabeth.

During these transactions lord Scrope and sir Francis Knolles, who resided with Mary at Carlisle, had leisure to study her character, and make report of it to Elizabeth. Unbroken by her misfortunes, resolute in her purpose, active in her enterprises, she aspired to nothing but victory; and was determined to endure any extremity, to undergo any difficulty, and to try every fortune, rather than abandon her cause, or yield the superiority to her enemies. Eloquent, insinuating, affable; she had already convinced all those who approached her, of the innocence of her past conduct; and as she declared her fixed purpose to require aid of her friends

all over Europe, and even to have recourſe to infidels and barbarians, rather than fail of vengeance againſt her perſecutors, it was eaſy to foreſee the danger to which her charms, her ſpirit, her addreſs, if allowed to operate with their full force, would expoſe them. The court of England, therefore, who, under pretence of guarding her, had already, in effect, detained her priſoner, were determined to watch her with greater vigilance. As Carliſle, by its ſituation on the borders, afforded her great opportunities of contriving her eſcape, they removed, her to Bolton, a ſeat of lord Scrope's in Yorkſhire: And the iſſue of the controverſy between her and the Scottiſh nation was regarded as a ſubject more momentous to Elizabeth's ſecurity and intereſts, than it had hitherto been apprehended.

The commiſſioners appointed by the Engliſh court for the examination of this great cauſe, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suſſex, and ſir Ralph Sadler; and York was named as the place of conference. Leſley biſhop of Roſs, the lords Herries, Levingſtone, and Boyde, with three perſons more, appeared as commiſſioners from the queen of Scots. The earl of Murray, regent, the earl of Morton, the biſhop of Orkney, lord Lindeſey, and the abbot of Dumfermling, were appointed commiſſioners from the king and kingdom of Scotland. Secretary Lidington, George Buchanan, the famous poet and hiſtorian, with ſome others, were named as their aſſiſtants.

It was a circumſtance in Elizabeth's glory, that ſhe was thus choſen umpire between the factions of a neighbouring kingdom, which had during many centuries, entertained the moſt violent jealouſy and animoſity againſt England: and her felicity was equally rare, in having the fortunes and fame of ſo dangerous a rival, who had long given her the greateſt inquietude, now entirely at her diſpoſal. Some circumſtances of her late conduct had diſcovered a bias towards the ſide of Mary: Her prevailing intereſts led her to favour the enemies of that princeſs: The profeſſions of impartiality,

lity, which she had made, were open and frequent: and she had so far succeeded, that each side accused her commissioners of partiality towards their adversaries. She herself appears, by the instructions given them, to have fixed no plan for the decision: but she knew that the advantages which she should reap, must be great, whatever issue the cause might take. If Mary's crimes could be ascertained by undoubted proof, she could for ever blast the reputation of that princess, and might justifiably detain her for ever a prisoner in England: If the evidence fell short of conviction, it was intended to restore her to the throne, but with such strict limitations as would leave Elizabeth perpetual arbiter of all differences between the parties in Scotland, and render her in effect absolute mistress of the kingdom.

Mary's commissioners, before they gave in their complaints against her enemies in Scotland, entered a protest, that their appearance in the cause should nowise affect the independence of her crown, or be construed as a mark of subordination to England: The English commissioners received this protest, but with a reserve to the claim of England. The complaint of that princess was next read, and contained a detail of the injuries which she had suffered since her marriage with Bothwel: That her subjects had taken arms against her, on pretence of freeing her from captivity; that when she put herself into their hands, they had committed her to close custody in Lochlevin; had placed her son, an infant, on her throne; had again taken arms against her after her deliverance from prison; had rejected all her proposals for accommodation; had given battle to her troops; and had obliged her, for the safety of her person, to take shelter in England. The earl of Murray, in answer to this complaint, gave a summary and imperfect account of the late transactions: That the earl of Bothwel, the known murderer of the late king, had, a little after committing that crime, seized the person of the queen, and led her to Dunbar; that he acquired such influence over her, as to gain her consent to

marry

marry him, and he had accordingly procured a divorce from his former wife, and had pretended to celebrate his nuptials with the queen; that the scandal of this transaction, the dishonour which it brought on the nation, the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the attempts of that audacious man, had obliged the nobility to take arms, and oppose his criminal enterprises; that after Mary, in order to save him, had thrown herself into their hands, she still discovered such a violent attachment to him, that they found it necessary, for their own and the public safety, to confine her person, during a season, till Bothwel and the other murderers of her husband could be tried and punished for their crimes; and that, during this confinement, she had voluntarily, without compulsion or violence, merely from disgust at the inquietude, and vexations attending power, resigned her crown to her only son, and had appointed the earl of Murray regent during the minority. The queen's answer to this apology was obvious; That she did not know, and never could suspect, that Bothwel, who had been acquitted by a jury, and recommended to her by all the nobility for her husband, was the murderer of the king; that she never was, and still continues, desirous, that if he be guilty he may be brought to condign punishment; that her resignation of the crown was extorted from her by the well-grounded fears of her life, and even by direct menaces of violence; and that Throgmorton, the English ambassador, as well as others of her friends, had advised her to sign that paper, as the only means of saving herself from the last extremity, and had assured her that a consent, given under these circumstances, could never have any validity.

So far the queen of Scots seemed plainly to have the advantage in the contest: And the English commissioners might have been surprised that Murray had made so weak a defence, and had suppressed all the material imputations against that princess, on which his party had ever so strenuously insisted; had not some private con-

ferences, previously informed them of the ſecret. Mary's commiſſioners had boaſted that Elizabeth, from regard to her kinſwoman, and from her deſire of maintaining the rights of ſovereigns, was determined, how criminal ſoever the conduct of that princeſs might appear, to reſtore her to the throne; and Murray, reflecting on ſome paſt meaſures of the Engliſh court, began to apprehend that there were but too juſt grounds for theſe expectations. He believed that Mary, if he would agree to conceal the moſt violent part of the accuſation againſt her, would ſubmit to any reaſonable terms of accommodation; but if he once proceeded ſo far as to charge her with the whole of her guilt, no compoſition could afterwards take place; and ſhould ſhe ever be reſtored, either by the power of Elizabeth, or the aſſiſtance of her other friends, he and his party muſt be expoſed to her ſevere and implacable vengeance. He reſolved, therefore, not to venture raſhly on a meaſure which it would be impoſſible for him ever to recal; and he privately paid a viſit to Norfolk, and the other Engliſh commiſſioners, confeſſed his ſcruples, laid before them the evidence of the queen's guilt, and deſired to have ſome ſecurity for Elizabeth's protection, in caſe that evidence ſhould, upon examination, appear entirely ſatisfactory. Norfolk was not ſecretly diſpleaſed with theſe ſcruples of the regent. He had ever been a partiſan of the queen of Scots: Secretary Lidington, who began alſo to incline to that party, and was a man of ſingular addreſs and capacity, had engaged him to embrace farther views in her favour, and even to think of eſpouſing her: And though that duke confeſſed, that the proofs againſt Mary ſeemed to him unqueſtionable, he encouraged Murray in his preſent reſolution, not to produce them publicly in the conferences before the Engliſh commiſſioners.

Norfolk, however, was obliged to tranſmit to court the queries propoſed by the regent. Theſe queries conſiſted of four particulars; Whether the Engliſh com-

miſſioners had authority from their ſovereign to pronounce ſentence againſt Mary, in caſe her guilt ſhould be fully proved before them? Whether they would promiſe to exerciſe that authority, and proceed to an actual ſentence? Whether the queen of Scots, if ſhe were found guilty, ſhould be delivered into the hands of the regent, or, at leaſt, be ſo ſecured in England, that ſhe never ſhould be able to diſturb the tranquillity of Scotland? and, whether Elizabeth would alſo, in that caſe, promiſe to acknowledge the young king, and protect the regent in his authority?

Elizabeth, when theſe queries, with the other tranſactions, were laid before her, began to think that they pointed towards a concluſion more deciſive and more advantageous than ſhe had hitherto expected. She determined, therefore, to bring the matter into full light; and, under pretext that the diſtance from her perſon retarded the proceedings of her commiſſioners, ſhe ordered them to come to London, and there continue the conferences. On their appearance, ſhe immediately joined in commiſſion with them ſome of the moſt conſiderable of her council; ſir Nicholas Bacon, lord Clinton admiral, and ſir William Cecil, ſecretary. The queen of Scots, who knew nothing of theſe ſecret motives, and who expected that fear, or decency, would ſtill reſtrain Murray from proceeding to any violent accuſation againſt her, expreſſed an entire ſatisfaction in this adjournment; and declared that the affair, being under the immediate inſpection of Elizabeth, was now in the hands where ſhe moſt deſired to reſt it. The conferences were accordingly continued at Hampton Court; and Mary's commiſſioners, as before, made no ſcruple to be preſent at them.

The queen, meanwhile, gave a ſatisfactory anſwer to all Murray's demands, and declared, that though ſhe wiſhed and hoped, from the preſent inquiry, to be entirely convinced of Mary's innocence, yet if the event ſhould prove contrary, and if that princeſs ſhould appear

pear guilty of her husband's murder, she should, for her own part, deem her ever after unworthy of a throne.

The regent, encouraged by this declaration, opened more fully his charge against the queen of Scots, and, after expressing his reluctance to proceed to that extremity, and protesting that nothing but the necessity of self-defence, which must not be abandoned for any delicacy, could have engaged him in such a measure, he proceeded to accuse her in plain terms of participation and consent in the assassination of the king. The earl of Lenox too appeared before the English commissioners, and imploring vengeance for the murder of his son, accused Mary as an accomplice with Bothwel in that enormity.

When this charge was so unexpectedly given in, and copies of it were transmitted to the bishop of Ross, lord Herries, and the other commissioners of Mary, they absolutely refused to return an answer; and they grounded their silence on very extraordinary reasons: They had orders, they said, from their mistress, if any thing was advanced that might touch her honour, not to make any defence, as she was a sovereign princess, and could not be subject to any tribunal; and they required that she should previously be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, to whom, and to whom alone, she was determined to justify her innocence.——They forgot that the conferences were at first begun, and were still continued, with no other view than to clear her from the accusations of her enemies: that Elizabeth had ever pretended to enter into them only as her friend, by her own consent and approbation, not as assuming any jurisdiction over her; that this princess had, from the beginning, refused to admit her to her presence, till she should vindicate herself from the crimes imputed to her; that she had therefore discovered no new signs of partiality by her perseverance in this resolution; and that, though she had granted an audience to the earl of Murray and his colleagues, she had previously conferred the same honour on Mary's commissioners;

fioners; and her conduct was so far entirely equal to both parties.*

As the commissioners of the queen of Scots refused to give in any answer to Murray's charge, the necessary consequence seemed to be, that there could be no farther proceeding in the conference. But though this silence might be interpreted as a presumption against her, it did not fully answer the purpose of those English ministers who were enemies to that princess. They still desired to have in their hands proofs of her guilt; and in order to draw them with decency from the regent, a judicious artifice was employed by Elizabeth. Murray was called before the English commissioners; and reproved by them, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations which he had the temerity to throw upon his sovereign: But though the earl of Murray, they added, and the other commissioners, had so far forgotten the duty of allegiance to their prince, the queen never would overlook what she owed to her friend, her neighbour, and her kinswoman; and she therefore desired to know what they could say in their own justification. Murray, thus urged, made no difficulty in producing the proofs of his charge against the queen of Scots; and among the rest, some love-letters and sonnets of her's to Bothwel, written all in her own hand, and two others papers, one written in her own hand, another subscribed by her, and written by the earl of Huntley;

* Mary's complaint of the queen's partiality in admitting Murray to a conference, was a mere pretext in order to break off the conference. She indeed employs that reason in her order for that purpose, (see Goodall, vol. ii. p. 184.) but in her private letter, her commissioners are directed to make use of that order to prevent her honour from being attacked. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 183. It was therefore the accusation only she was afraid of. Murray was the least obnoxious of all her enemies. He was abroad when her subjects rebelled, and reduced her to captivity: He had only accepted of her regency when voluntarily proffered him by the nation. His being admitted to queen Elizabeth's presence was therefore a very bad foundation for a quarrel, or for breaking off the conference; and was plainly a mere pretence.

each

each of which contained a promise of marriage with Bothwel, made before the pretended trial and acquittal of that nobleman.

All these important papers had been kept by Bothwel in a silver box or casket, which had been given him by Mary, and which had belonged to her first husband, Francis; and though the princess had enjoined him to burn the letters as soon as he had read them, he had thought proper carefully to preserve them as pledges of her fidelity, and had committed them to the custody of sir James Balfour, deputy-governor of the castle of Edinburgh. When that fortress was besieged by the associated lords, Bothwel sent a servant to receive the casket from the hands of the deputy-governor Balfour, delivered it to the messenger; but as he had at that time received some disgust from Bothwel, and was secretly negotiating an agreement with the ruling party, he took care, by conveying private intelligence to the earl of Morton, to make the papers be intercepted by him. They contained inconstable proofs of Mary's criminal correspondence with Bothwel, of her consent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwel pretended to commit upon her. Murray fortified this evidence by some testimonies of correspondent facts; and he added, some time after, the dying confession of one Hubert, or French Paris, as he was called, a servant of Bothwel's, who had been executed for the king's murder, and who directly charged the queen with her being accessary to that criminal enterprise.

Mary's commissioners had used every expedient to ward this blow which they saw coming upon them, and against which, it appears, they were not provided with any proper defence. As soon as Murray opened his charge, they endeavoured to turn the conferences from an enquiry into a negotiation: and though informed by the English commissioners that nothing could be more dishonourable for their mistress, than to enter into a treaty with such undutiful subjects, before she had justified her-

ſelf from thoſe enormous imputations which had been thrown upon her, they ſtill inſiſted that Elizabeth ſhould ſettle terms of accommodation between Mary and her enemies in Scotland. They maintained that, till their miſtreſs had given in her anſwer to Murray's charge, his proofs could neither be called for nor produced: And finding that the Engliſh commiſſioners were ſtill determined to proceed in the method which had been projected, they finally broke off the conferences, and never would make any reply. Theſe papers, at leaſt tranſlations of them, have ſince been publiſhed. The objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of ſmall force: But were they ever ſo ſpecious, they cannot now be hearkened to; ſince Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did in effect, ratify the evidence againſt her, by recoiling from the enquiry at the very critical moment, and refuſing to give an anſwer to the accuſation of her enemies *.

* We ſhall not enter into a long diſcuſſion concerning the authenticity of theſe letters: We ſhall only remark, in general, that the chief objections againſt them are, that they are ſuppoſed to have paſſed through the earl of Morton's hands, the leaſt ſcrupulous of all Mary's enemies; and that they are to the laſt degree indecent, and even ſomewhat inelegant, ſuch as it is not likely ſhe would write. But to theſe preſumptions we may oppoſe the following conſiderations (1.) Though it be not difficult to counterfeit a ſubſcription, it is very difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, to counterfeit ſeveral pages, ſo as to reſemble, exactly, the hand-writing of any perſon. The letters were examined and compared with Mary's hand-writing by the Engliſh privy-council, and by a great many of the nobility, among whom were ſeveral partiſans of that princeſs. They might have been examined by the biſhop of Roſs, Herries, and others of Mary's commiſſioners. The regent muſt have expected that they would be very critically examined by them: and had they not been able to ſtand that teſt, he was only preparing a ſcene of confuſion to himſelf. Biſhop Leſlie expreſsly declines the comparing the hands, which he calls no legal proof, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 389. (2.) The letters are very long, much longer than they needed to have been, in order to ſerve the purpoſes of Mary's enemies; a circumſtance which increaſed

But Elizabeth, though she had seen enough for her own satisfaction, was determined that the most eminent

increased the difficulty, and exposed any forgery the more to the risk of a detection. (3.) They are not so gross and palpable as forgeries commonly are, for they still left a pretext for Mary's friends to assert, that their meaning was strained to make them appear criminal: see Goodall, vol. ii. p. 361. (4.) There is a long contract of marriage, said to be written by the earl of Huntley, and signed by the queen, before Bothwel's acquittal. Would Morton, without any necessity, have thus doubled the difficulties of the forgery and the danger of detection? (5.) The letters are indiscreet; but such was apparently Mary's conduct at that time: They are inelegant; but they have a careless natural air, like letters hastily written between familiar friends. (6.) They contain such a variety of particular circumstances as nobody could have thought of inventing; especially as they must necessarily have afforded her many means of detection. (7.) We have not the originals of the letters, which were in French: We have only a Scotch and Latin translation from the original, and a French translation professedly done from the Latin. Now it is remarkable that the Scotch translation is full of Gallicisms, and is clearly a translation from a French original: Such as *make fault, faire des fautes*; *make it seem that I believe, faire semblant de le croire*; *make brek, faire breche: this is my first journey, c'est ma premiere journée; have you not desire to laugh, n'avez vous pas envie de rire: the place will hald unto the death, la place tiendra jusqu'a la mort*; *he may not come forth of the house this long time, il ne peut pas sortir du logis de long iems*; *to make me advertisement, faire m'avertir*; *put order to it, mettre ordre cela*; *discharge your heart, decharger votre cœur*; *make gud watch, faites bonne garde*, &c. (8.) There is a conversation which she mentions between herself and the king one evening: But Murray produced before the English commissioners the testimony of one Crawford, a gentleman of the earl of Lenox, who swore that the king, on her departure from him, gave him an account of the same conversation. (9.) There seems very little reason why Murray and his associates, should run the risk of such a dangerous forgery, which must have rendered them infamous, if detected; since their cause, from Mary's known conduct, even without these letters, was sufficiently good and justifiable. (10.) Murray exposed these letters to the examination of persons qualified to judge of them; the Scotch council, the Scotch parliament, queen Elizabeth and her

persons of her court should also be acquainted with these transactions, and should be convinced of the equity of her

her council, who were possessed of a great number of Mary's genuine letters (11.) He gave Mary herself an opportunity of refuting and exposing him, if she had chosen to lay hold of it. (12.) The letters tally so well with all the other parts of her conduct during that transaction, that these proofs throw the strongest light on each other. (13.) The duke of Norfolk, who had examined these papers, and who favoured so much the queen of Scots, that he intended to marry her, in the end lost his life in her cause, yet believed them authentic, and was fully convinced of her guilt. This appears, not only from his letters above mentioned to queen Elizabeth and her ministers, but by his secret acknowlegment to Bannister, his most trusty confident. See State Trials, vol. i. p. 81. In the conferences between the duke, secretary Lidington, and the bishop of Ross, all of them zealous partisans of that princess, the same thing is always taken for granted. Ibid. p. 74, 75. See farther MS. in the Advocates' library, A. 3. 28. p. 314. from Cott. lib. Calig. c. 9. Indeed the duke's full persuasion of Mary's guilt without the least doubt or hesitation, could not have had place, if he had found Lidington or the bishop of Ross of a different opinion, or if they had ever told him that these letters were forged. It is to be remarked that Lidington, being one of the accomplices, knew the whole bottom of the conspiracy against king Henry, and was besides a man of such penetration that nothing could escape him in such interesting events. (14.) I need not repeat the presumption drawn from Mary's refusal to answer. The only excuse for her silence is, that she suspected Elizabeth to be a partial judge: It was not indeed the interest of that princess to acquit and justify her rival and competitor; and we accordingly find that Lidington, from the secret information of the duke of Norfolk, informed Mary, by the bishop of Ross, that the queen of England never meant to come to a decision: but only to get into her hands the proofs of Mary's guilt, in order to blast her character: See State Trials, vol. i. p. 77. But this was a better reason for declining the conference altogether, than for breaking it off on frivolous pretences, the very moment the chief accusation was unexpectedly opened against her —— Though she could not expect Elizabeth's final decision in her favour, it was of importance to give a satisfactory answer, if she had any, to the accusation of the Scotch commissioners. That answer could have been never dispersed for the satisfac-

proceedings. She ordered her privy-council to be aſſembled: and, that ſhe might render the matter more

tion of the public, of foreign nations, and of poſterity. And ſurely, after the accuſation and proofs were in queen Elizabeth's hands, it could do no harm to give in the anſwers. Mary's information, that the queen never intended to come to a deciſion, could be no obſtacle to her juſtification. (15) The very diſappearance of theſe letters is a preſumption of their authenticity. That event can be accounted for no way but from the care of king James's friends, who were deſirous to deſtroy every proof of his mother's crimes. The diſappearance of Morton's narrative, and of Crawford's evidence, from the Cotton library, Calig. c. i. muſt have proceeded from a like cauſe. See MS. in the Advocate's library, A. 3. 29. p. 88.

I find an objection made to the authenticity of the letters, drawn from the vote of the Scotch privy-council, which affirms the letters to be written and ſubſcribed by queen Mary's own hand; whereas the copies given in to the parliament a few days after, were only written, not ſubſcribed: See Goodall, vol. ii. p. 64. 67. But it is not conſidered that this circumſtance is of no manner of force: There were certainly letters, true or falſe, laid before the council; and whether the letters were true or falſe, this miſtake proceeds equally from the inaccuracy or blunder of the clerk. The miſtake may be accounted for: The letters were only written by her: The ſecond contract with Bothwel was only ſubſcribed. A proper accurate diſtinction was not made; and they are all ſaid to be written and ſubſcribed. A late writer (Mr. Goodall) has endeavoured to prove that theſe letters claſh with chronology, and that the queen was not in the places mentioned in the letters on the days there aſſigned: To confirm this, he produces charters, and other deeds, ſigned by the queen, where the date and place do not agree with the letters. But it is well known that the date of charters, and ſuch like grants, is no proof of the real day on which they were ſigned by the ſovereign. Papers of that kind commonly paſs through different offices: The date is affixed by the firſt office, and may precede, very long, the day of the ſignature.

The account given by Morton of the manner in which the papers came into his hand, is very natural. When he gave it to the Engliſh commiſſioners, he had reaſon to think it would be canvaſſed with all the ſeverity of able adverſaries, intereſted in the higheſt degree to refute it.

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ſolemn and authentic, ſhe ſummoned, along with them, the earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Shrewſbury, Worceſter, Huntingdon, and Warwick. All the proceedings of the Engliſh commiſſioners were read to them: The evidences produced by Murray were peruſed: A great number of letters, written by Mary to Elizabeth, were laid before them, and the hand-writing compared with that of the letters delivered in by the regent: the refuſal of the queen of Scots' commiſſioners to make any reply, was related: And, on the whole, Elizabeth told them, that as ſhe had from the firſt thought it improper that Mary, after ſuch horrid crimes were imputed to her, ſhould be admitted to her preſence, before ſhe had, in ſome meaſure, juſtified herſelf from the charge; ſo now, when her guilt was confirmed by ſo

It is probable that he could have confirmed it by many circumſtances and teſtimonies, ſince they declined the conteſt.

The ſonnets are inelegant; inſomuch that both Brantome and Ronſard, who knew queen Mary's ſtyle, were aſſured, when they ſaw them, that they could not be of her compoſition. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 478. But no perſon is equal in his productions, eſpecially one whoſe ſtyle is ſo little formed as Mary's muſt be ſuppoſed to be. Not to mention that ſuch dangerous and criminal enterpriſes leave little tranquillity of mind for elegant poetical compoſitions.

In a word queen Mary might eaſily have conducted the whole conſpiracy againſt her huſband, without opening her mind to any one perſon except Bothwel, and without writing a ſcrap of paper about it; but it was very difficult to have conducted it ſo that her conduct ſhould not betray her to men of diſcernment. In the preſent caſe her conduct was ſo groſs as to betray her to every body; and fortune threw into her enemies hands papers by which they could convict her. The ſame infatuation and imprudence, which happily is the uſual attendant of great crimes, will account for both. It is proper to obſerve, that there is not one circumſtance of the foregoing narrative, contained in the hiſtory, that is taken from Knox, Buchanan, or even Thuanus, or indeed from any ſuſpected authority.

many

many evidences, and all anſwer refuſed, ſhe muſt, for her part, perſevere more ſteadily in that reſolution. Elizabeth next called in the queen of Scots' commiſſioners, and, after obſerving that ſhe deemed it much more decent for their miſtreſs to continue the conferences, than to require the liberty of juſtifying herſelf in perſon, ſhe told them, that Mary might either ſend her reply by a perſon whom ſhe truſted, or deliver it herſelf to ſome Engliſh nobleman, whom Elizabeth ſhould appoint to wait upon her: But as to her reſolution of making no reply at all, ſhe muſt regard it as the ſtrongeſt confeſſion of guilt; nor could they ever be deemed her friends who adviſed her to that method of proceeding. Theſe topics ſhe enforced ſtill more ſtrongly in a letter which ſhe wrote to Mary herſelf.

The queen of Scots had no other ſubterfuge from theſe preſſing remonſtrances, than ſtill to demand a perſonal interview with Elizabeth: A conceſſion which, ſhe was ſenſible, would never be granted; becauſe Elizabeth knew that this expedient could decide nothing; becauſe it brought matters to extremity, which that princeſs deſired to avoid; and becauſe it had been refuſed from the beginning, even before the commencement of the conferences. In order to keep herſelf better in countenance, Mary thought of another device. Though the conferences were broken off, ſhe ordered her commiſſioners to accuſe the earl of Murray, and his aſſociates, as the murderers of the king: but this accuſation coming ſo late, being extorted merely by a complaint of Murray's, and being unſupported by any proof, could only be regarded as an angry recrimination upon her enemy *. She alſo deſired to have copies of the pa-

* Unleſs we take this angry accuſation, advanced by queen Mary, to be an argument of Murray's guilt, there remains not the leaſt preſumption which ſhould lead us to ſuſpect him to have been any wiſe an accomplice in the king's murder. That queen never pretended to give any proof of the charge; and her commiſſioners affirmed at the time, that they themſelves knew of none, though they were

pers given in by the regent; but as she still persisted in

were ready to maintain its truth by their mistress's orders, and would produce such proof as she should send them. It is remarkable that, at that time, it was impossible for either her or them to produce any proof; because the conferences before the English commissioners were previously broken off.

It is true, the bishop of Ross, in an angry pamphlet, written by him under a borrowed name (where it is easy to say any thing), affirms, that lord Herries, a few days after the king's death, charged Murray with the guilt, openly to his face at his own table. This latter nobleman, as Lesly relates the matter, affirmed, that Murray, riding in Fife with one of his servants, the evening before the commission of that crime, said to him among other talk, *This night, ere morning, the lord Darnley shall lose his life.* See Anderson, vol. i. p. 75. But this is only a hearsay of Lesly's concerning a hearsay of Herries's, and contains a very improbable fact. Would Murray, without any use or necessity, communicate to a servant, such a dangerous and important secret, merely by way of conversation? We may also observe, that lord Herries himself was one of queen Mary's commissioners who accused Murray. Had he ever heard this story, or given credit to it, was not that the time to have produced it? and not have affirmed, as he did, that he, for his part, knew nothing of Murray's guilt. See Goodall, vol. ii. p. 307.

The earls of Huntley and Argile accuse Murray of this crime; but the reason which they assign is ridiculous. He had given his consent to Mary's divorce from the king; therefore he was the king's murderer. See Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. page 192. It is a sure argument that these earls knew no better proof against Murray, otherwise they would have produced it, and not have insisted on so absurd a presumption. Was not this also the time for Huntley to deny his writing Mary's contract with Bothwel, if that paper had been a forgery.

Murray could have no motive to commit that crime. The king, indeed, bore him some ill-will; but the king himself was become so despicable, both from his own ill conduct and the queen's aversion to him, that he could

neither

her resolution to make no reply before the English commissioners, this demand was finally refused her*.

neither do good nor harm to any body. To judge by the event in any case is always absurd, especially in the present. The king's murder, indeed, procured Murray the regency; but much more Mary's ill conduct and imprudence, which he could not possibly foresee, and which never would have happened had she been entirely innocent.

* I believe there is no reader of common sense who does not see from the narrative in the text, that the author means to say, that queen Mary refuses constantly to answer before the English commissioners, but offers only to answer in person before queen Elizabeth in person, contrary to her practice during the whole course of the conference, till the moment the evidence of her being an accomplice in her husband's murder is unexpectedly produced. It is true, the author having repeated four or five times an account of this demand of being admitted to Elizabeth's presence, and having expressed his opinion that, as it had been refused from the beginning, even before the commencement of the conferences, she did not expect it would now be complied with; thought it impossible his meaning could be misunderstood (as indeed it was impossible), and not being willing to tire his reader with continual repetitions, he mentions in a passage or two, simply, that she had refused to make any answer. I believe also, there is no reader of common sense who peruses Anderson or Goodall's Collections, and does not see that, agreeably to this narrative, queen Mary insists unalterably and strenuously on not continuing to answer before the English commissioners, but insists to be heard in person, by queen Elizabeth in person; though once or twice by way of bravado she says simply, that she will answer and refute her enemies, without inserting this condition, which still is understood. But there is a person that has writ an *Enquiry Historical and Critical into the Evidence against Mary Queen of Scots*; and has attempted to refute the foregoing narrative. He quotes a single passage of the narrative, in which Mary is said simply to refuse answering; and then a single passage from Goodall, in which she bounds simply that she will answer; and he very civilly, and almost directly, calls the author a liar, on account of this pretended contradiction. That whole Enquiry, from beginning to end, is composed of such scandalous artifices; and from this instance the reader may judge of the candour, fair dealing, veracity; and

As Mary had thus put an end to the conferences, the regent expreſſed great impatience to return into Scotland; and he complained, that his enemies had taken advantage of his abſence, and had thrown the whole government into confuſion. Elizabeth therefore diſmiſſed him; and granted him a loan of of five thouſand pounds to bear the expences of his journey. During the conferences at York, the duke of Chatelrault arrived at London, in paſſing from France; and as the queen knew that he was engaged in Mary's party, and had very plauſible pretenſions to the regency of the king of Scots, ſhe thought proper to detain him till after Murray's departure. But notwithſtanding theſe marks of favour, and ſome other aſſiſtance which ſhe ſecretly gave this latter nobleman, ſhe ſtill declined acknowledging the young king, or treating with Murray as regent of Scotland.

Orders were given for removing the queen of Scots from Bolton, a place ſurrounded with catholics, to Tutbury, in the county of Stafford, where ſhe was put under the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury. Elizabeth entertained hopes that this princeſs, diſcouraged by her misfortunes, and confounded by the late tranſactions, would be glad to ſecure a ſafe retreat from all the tempeſts with which ſhe had been agitated; and ſhe promiſed to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either voluntarily to reſign her crown, or to aſſociate her ſon with her in the government; and the adminiſtration to remain, during his minority, in the hands of the earl of Murray. But that high-ſpirited princeſs refuſed all treaty upon ſuch terms, and declared that her laſt words ſhould be thoſe of a queen of Scot-

good manners of the Enquirer. There are, indeed, three events in our hiſtory, which may be regarded as touchſtones of party-men. An Engliſh Whig, who aſſerts the reality of the popiſh plot, an Iriſh Catholic, who denies the maſſacre in 1641, and a Scotch Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of queen Mary, muſt be conſidered as men beyond the reach of argument or reaſon, and muſt be left to their prejudices.

land.

land. Besides many other reasons, she said, which fixed her in that resolution, she knew that if, in the present emergency, she made such concessions, her submission would be universally deemed an acknowledgment of guilt, and would ratify all the calumnies of her enemies.

Mary still insisted upon this alternative; either that Elizabeth should assist her in recovering her authority, or should give her liberty to retire into France, and make trial of the friendship of other princes: And as she asserted that she had come voluntarily into England, invited by many protestations of amity, she thought that one or other of these requests could not, without the most extreme injustice, be refused her. But Elizabeth, sensible of the danger which attended both these proposals, was secretly resolved to detain her still a captive; and as her retreat into England had been little voluntary, her claim upon the queen's generosity appeared much less urgent than she was willing to pretend. Necessity, it was thought, would, to the prudent, justify her detention: Her past misconduct would apologize for it to the equitable: And though it was foreseen, that compassion for Mary's situation, joined to her intrigues and insinuating behaviour, would, while she remained in England, excite the zeal of her friends, especially of the catholics; these inconveniencies were deemed much inferior to those which attended any other expedient. Elizabeth trusted also to her own address for eluding all those difficulties: She purposed to avoid breaking absolutely with the queen of Scots, to keep her always in hopes of an accommodation, to negotiate perpetually with her, and still to throw the blame of not coming to any conclusion, either on unforeseen accidents, or on the obstinacy and perverseness of others.

We come now to mention some English affairs which we left behind us, that we might not interrupt our narrative of the events in Scotland, which form so material a part of the present reign. The term fixed by the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis for the restitution of Calais,

expired in 1567; and Elizabeth, after making her demand at the gates of that city, sent sir Thomas Smith to Paris; and that minister, in conjunction with sir Henry Norris, her resident ambassador, enforced her pretensions. Conferences were held on that head, without coming to any conclusion satisfactory to the English. The chancellor, De l'Hospital, told the English ambassadors, that though France, by an article of the treaty, was obliged to restore Calais on the expiration of eight years, there was another article of the same treaty which now deprived Elizabeth of any right that could accrue to her by that engagement: That it was agreed, if the English should, during the interval, commit hostilities upon France, they should instantly forfeit all claim to Calais; and the taking possession of Havre and Dieppe, with whatever pretences that measure might be covered, was a plain violation of the peace between the nations: That though these places were not entered by force, but put into Elizabeth's hands by the governors, these governors were rebels; and a correspondence with such traitors was the most flagrant injury that could be committed on any sovereign: That in the treaty which ensued upon the expulsion of the English from Normandy, the French ministers had absolutely refused to make any mention of Calais, and had thereby declared their intention to take advantage of the title which had accrued to the crown of France; And that though a general clause had been inserted, implying a reservation of all claims; this concession could not avail the English, who at that time possessed no just claim to Calais, and had previously forfeited all right to that fortress. The queen was nowise surprised at hearing these allegations; and as she knew that the French court intended not from the first to make restitution, much less after they could justify their refusal by such plausible reasons, she thought it better for the present to acquiesce in the loss, than to pursue a doubtful title by a war both dangerous and expensive, as well as unseasonable.

Elizabeth entered anew into negotiations for espousing the

the archduke Charles, and she seems, at this time, to have had no great motive of policy, which might induce her to make this fallacious offer: But as she was very rigorous in the terms insisted on, and would not agree that the archduke, if he espoused her, should enjoy any power or title in England, and even refused him the exercise of his religion, the treaty came to nothing; and that prince, despairing of success in his addresses, married the daughter of Albert duke of Bavaria.

CHAP. XL.

Character of the Puritans——Duke of Norfolk's conspiracy——Insurrection in the north——Assassination of the earl of Murray——A parliament——Civil wars of France——affairs of the Low countries——New conspiracy of the duke of Norfolk——Trial of Norfolk——His execution——Scotch affairs——French affairs——Massacre of Paris——French affairs——Civil wars of the Low Countries——A Parliament.

OF all the European churches which shook off the yoke of papal authority, no one proceeded with so much reason and moderation as the church of England; an advantage which had been derived partly from the interposition of the civil magistrate in this innovation, and partly from the gradual and slow steps by which the reformation was conducted in that kingdom. Rage and animosity against the catholic religion was as little indulged as could be supposed in such a revolution: The fabric of the secular hierarchy was maintained entire: The ancient liturgy was preserved, so far as was thought consistent with the new principles: Many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding use, were retained: The splendour of the Romish worship, though removed, had at least given place to order and decency. The distinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued: No innovation was admitted, merely from spite and opposition to former usage: And the new religion, by mitigating the genius of the ancient superstition, and rendering it more compa-

tible with the peace and interests of society, had preserved it still in that happy medium which wise men have always sought, and which the people have so seldom been able to maintain.

But though such, in general, was the spirit of the reformation in that country, many of the English reformers, being men of more warm complexions and more obstinate tempers, endeavoured to push matters to extremities against the church of Rome, and indulged themselves in the most violent contrariety and antipathy to all former practices. Among these, Hooper, who afterwards suffered for his religion with such extraordinary constancy, was chiefly distinguished. This man was appointed, during the reign of Edward, to the see of Gloucester, and made no scruple of accepting the episcopal office; but he refused to be consecrated in the episcopal habit, the cymarre and rochet, which had formerly, he said, been abused to superstition, and which were thereby rendered unbecoming a true christian. Cranmer and Ridley were surprised at this objection, which opposed the received practice, and even the established laws; and though young Edward, desirous of promoting a man so celebrated for his eloquence, his zeal, and his morals, enjoined them to dispense with this ceremony, they were still determined to retain it. Hooper then embraced the resolution, rather to refuse the bishopric than clothe himself in those hated garments; but it was deemed requisite that, for the sake of the example, he should not escape so easily. He was first confined to Cranmer's house, then thrown into prison, till he should consent to be a bishop on the terms proposed: He was plied with conferences, and reprimands, and arguments: Bucer and Peter Martyr, and the most celebrated foreign reformers, were consulted on this important question: And a compromise, with great difficulty, was at last made, that Hooper should not be obliged to wear commonly the obnoxious robes, but should require to be consecrated in them, and to use them during cathedral service: A condescension not a little extraordinary

traordinary in a man of so inflexible a spirit as this reformer.

The same objection which had arisen with regard to the episcopal habit, had been moved against the raiment of the inferior clergy; and the surplice, in particular, with the tippet and corner cap, was a great object of abhorrence to many of the popular zealots. In vain was it urged, that particular habits, as well as postures and ceremonies, having been constantly used by the clergy, and employed in religious service, acquire a veneration in the eyes of the people, appear sacred in their apprehensions, excite their devotion, and contract a kind of mysterious virtue, which attaches the affections of men to the national and established worship: That, in order to produce this effect, an uniformity in these particulars is requisite, and even a perseverance, as far as possible, in the former practice: And that the nation would be happy, if, by retaining these inoffensive observances, the reformers could engage the people to renounce willingly what was absurd or pernicious in the ancient superstition. These arguments, which had influence with wise men, were the very reasons which engaged the violent protestants to reject the habits. They pushed matters to a total opposition with the church of Rome: Every compliance, they said, was a symbolising with Antichrist. And this spirit was carried so far by some reformers, that, in a national remonstrance made afterwards by the church of Scotland against these habits, it was asked, "What has Christ Jesus to do "with Belial? What has darkness to do with light? "If surplices, corner caps, and tippets have been "badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry; "why should the preachers of Christian liberty, and the "open rebuker of all superstition, partake with the "dregs of the Romish beast? Yea, who is there that "ought not rather to be afraid of taking in his hand, "or on his forehead, the print and mark of that odi-"ous beast?" But this application was rejected by the English church.

There

There was only one inſtance in which the ſpirit of contradiction to the Romaniſts took place univerſally in England: The altar was removed from the wall, was placed in the middle of the church, and was thenceforth denominated the communion-table. The reaſon why this innovation met with ſuch general reception was, that the nobility and gentry got thereby a pretence for making ſpoil of the plate, veſtures, and rich ornaments which belonged to the altars.'

Theſe diſputes, which had been ſtarted during the reign of Edward, were carried abroad by the proteſtants who fled from the perſecutions of Mary; and as the zeal of theſe men had received an increaſe from the furious cruelty of their enemies, they were generally inclined to carry their oppoſition to the utmoſt extremity againſt the practices of the church of Rome. Their communication with Calvin and the other reformers, who followed the diſcipline and worſhip of Geneva, confirmed them in this obſtinate reluctance; and though ſome of the refugees, particularly thoſe who were eſtabliſhed at Frankfort, ſtill adhered to king Edward's liturgy, the prevailing ſpirit carried theſe confeſſors to ſeek a ſtill farther reformation. On the acceſſion of Elizabeth, they returned to their native country; and being regarded with general veneration, on account of their zeal and paſt ſufferings, they ventured to inſiſt on the eſtabliſhment of their projected model; nor did they want countenance from many conſiderable perſons in the queen's council. But the princeſs herſelf, ſo far from being willing to deſpoil religion of the few ornaments and ceremonies which remained in it, was rather inclined to bring the public worſhip ſtill nearer to the Romiſh ritual;* and ſhe thought that the reformation

* *When Nowel, one of her chaplains, had ſpoken leſs reverently in a ſermon, preached before her, of the ſign of the croſs, ſhe called aloud to him from her cloſet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digreſſion, and to return unto his text. And, on the other ſide, when one of her divines had preached a ſermon in defence of the real preſence, ſhe openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety.*—Heylin, p. 124.

had already gone too far in ſhaking off thoſe forms and obſervances, which, without diſtracting men of more refined apprehenſions, tend, in a very innocent manner, to allure, and amuſe, and engage the vulgar. She took care to have a law for uniformity ſtrictly enacted: She was empowered by the parliament to add any new ceremonies which ſhe thought proper: And though ſhe was ſparing in the exerciſe of this prerogative, ſhe continued rigid in exacting an obſervance of the eſtabliſhed laws, and in puniſhing all nonconformity. The zealots, therefore, who harboured a ſecret antipathy to the epiſcopal order, and to the whole liturgy, were obliged, in a great meaſure, to conceal theſe ſentiments, which would have been regarded as highly audacious and criminal; and they confined their avowed objections to the ſurplice, the confirmation of children, the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm, the ring in marriage, kneeling at the ſacrament, and bowing at the name of Jeſus. So fruitleſs is it for ſovereigns to watch with a rigid care over orthodoxy, and to employ the ſword in religious controverſy, that the work, perpetually renewed, is perpetually to begin; and a garb, a geſture, nay a metaphyſical or grammatical diſtinction, when rendered important by the diſputes of theologians and the zeal of the magiſtrate, is ſufficient to deſtroy the unity of the church, and even the peace of ſociety. Theſe controverſies had already excited ſuch ferment among the people, that in ſome places they refuſed to frequent the churches where the habits and ceremonies were uſed; would not ſalute the conforming clergy; and proceeded ſo far as to revile them in the ſtreets, to ſpit in their faces, and to uſe them with all manner of contumely.

p. 124. She would have abſolutely forbidden the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil had not interpoſed. Strype's Life of Parker, p. 107, 108, 109. She was an enemy to ſermons; and uſually ſaid, that ſhe thought two or three preachers were ſufficient for a whole county. It was probably for theſe reaſons that one Doring told her to her face from the pulpit, that ſhe was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obſtructed his diſcipline. See life of Hooker, prefixed to his works.

And

And while the ſovereign authority checked theſe exceſſes, the flame was confined, not extinguiſhed; and burning fiercer from confinement, it burſt out in the ſucceeding reigns to the deſtruction of the church and monarchy.

All enthuſiaſts, indulging themſelves in rapturous flights, extaſies, viſions, inſpirations, have a natural averſion to epiſcopal authority, to ceremonies, rites, and forms, which they denominate ſuperſtition, or beggarly elements, and which ſeem to reſtrain the liberal effuſions of their zeal and devotion: But there was another ſet of opinions adopted by theſe innovators, which rendered them in a peculiar manner the object of Elizabeth's averſion. The ſame bold and daring ſpirit, which accompanied them in their addreſſes to the divinity, appeared in their political ſpeculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which, during ſome reigns, had been little avowed in the nation, and which were totally incompatible with the preſent exorbitant prerogative, had been ſtrongly adopted by this new ſect. Scarcely any ſovereign before Elizabeth, and none after her, carried higher, both in ſpeculation and practice, the authority of the crown; and the Puritans (ſo theſe ſectaries were called, on account of their pretending to a ſuperior purity of worſhip and diſcipline) could not recommend themſelves worſe to her favour, than by inculcating the doctrine of reſiſting or reſtraining princes. From all theſe motives, the queen neglected no opportunity of depreſſing thoſe zealous innovators; and while they were ſecretly countenanced by ſome of her moſt favoured miniſters, Cecil, Leiceſter, Knolles, Bedford, Walſingham, ſhe never was, to the end of her life, reconciled to their principles and practices.

We have thought proper to inſert in this place an account of the riſe and genius of the Puritans; becauſe Camden marks the preſent year, as the period when they began to make themſelves conſiderable in England. We now return to our narration.

1569. The duke of Norfolk was the only peer that enjoyed

enjoyed the highest title of nobility; and as there were at present no princes of the blood, the splendour of his family, the opulence of his fortune, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him without comparison the first subject in England. The qualities of his mind corresponded to his high station: Beneficent, affable, generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, obsequious, he possessed, without giving her any jealousy, the good graces of his sovereign. His grandfather and father had long been regarded as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliance of blood, had procured him the friendship of the most considerable men of that party: But as he had been educated among the reformers, was sincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that strict decorum and regularity of life, by which the protestants were at that time distinguished; he thereby enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular even with the most opposite factions. The height of his prosperity alone was the source of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts, from which his virtue and prudence would naturally have for ever kept him at a distance.

Norfolk was at this time a widower; and being of a suitable age, his marriage with the queen of Scots had appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his friends and those of that princess: But the first person, who, after secretary Lidington, opened the scheme to the duke, is said to have been the earl of Murray, before his departure for Scotland. That nobleman set before Norfolk both the advantage of composing the dissensions in Scotland by an alliance, which would be so generally acceptable, and the prospect of reaping the succession of England; and, in order to bind Norfolk's interest the faster with Mary's, he proposed that the duke's daughter should also espouse the young king of Scotland. The previously obtaining of Elizabeth's consent, was regarded, both by Murray and Norfolk, as a circumstance essential to the success of their project; and

and all terms being adjusted between them, Murray took care, by means of sir Robert Melvil, to have the design communicated to the queen of Scots. This princess replied, that the vexations, which she had met with in her two last marriages, had made her more inclined to lead a single life; but she was determined to sacrifice her own inclinations to the public welfare: And therefore, as soon as she should be legally divorced from Bothwel, she would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people in the choice of another husband.

It is probable that Murray was not sincere in this proposal. He had two motives to engage him to dissimulation. He knew the danger which he must run in his return through the north of England, from the power of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, Mary's partisans in that country; and he dreaded an insurrection in Scotland from the duke of Chatelrault, and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, whom she had appointed her lieutenants during her absence. By these feigned appearances of friendship, he both engaged Norfolk to write in his favour to the northern noblemen; and he persuaded the queen of Scots to give her lieutenants permission, and even advice, to conclude a cessation of hostilities with the regent's party.

The duke of Norfolk, though he had agreed that Elizabeth's consent should be previously obtained before the completion of his marriage, had reason to apprehend that he never should prevail with her voluntarily to make that concession. He knew her perpetual and unrelenting jealousy against her heir and rival; he was acquainted with her former reluctance to all proposals of marriage with the queen of Scots; he foresaw that this princess's espousing a person of his power and character and interest, would give the greatest umbrage; and as it would then become necessary to reinstate her in possession of her throne on some tolerable terms, and even to endeavour the re-establishing of her character, he dreaded lest Elizabeth, whose politics had now taken a

different

different turn, would never agree to such indulgent and generous conditions. He therefore attempted previously to gain the consent and approbation of several of the most considerable nobility; and he was successful with the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Sussex. Lord Lumley and sir Nicholas Throgmorton cordially embraced the proposal: Even the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favourite, who had formerly entertained some views of espousing Mary, willingly resigned all his pretensions, and seemed to enter zealously into Norfolk's interests. There were other motives, besides affection to the duke, which produced this general combination of the nobility.

Sir William Cecil, secretary of state, was the most vigilant, active, and prudent minister ever known in England; and as he was governed by no views but the interests of his sovereign, which he had inflexibly pursued, his authority over her became every day more predominant. Ever cool himself, and uninfluenced by prejudice or affection, he checked those sallies of passion, and sometimes of caprice, to which she was subject; and if he failed of persuading her in the first movement, his perseverance, and remonstrances, and arguments, were sure at last to recommend themselves to her sound discernment. The more credit he gained with his mistress, the more was he exposed to the envy of her other counsellors; and as he had been supposed to adopt the interests of the house of Suffolk, whose claim seemed to carry with it no danger to the present establishment, his enemies, in opposition to him, were naturally led to attach themselves to the queen of Scots. Elizabeth saw, without uneasiness, this emulation among her courtiers, which served to augment her own authority: And though she supported Cecil, whenever matters came to extremities, and dissipated every conspiracy against him, particularly one laid about this time for having him thrown into the Tower on some pretence or other, she never gave him such unlimited confi-

dence as might enable him entirely to crush his adversaries.

Norfolk, sensible of the difficulty, which he must meet with in controlling Cecil's counsels, especially where they concurred with the inclination as well as interest of the queen, durst not open to her his intentions of marrying the queen of Scots; but proceeded still in the same course, of increasing his interest in the kingdom, and engaging more of the nobility to take part in his measures. A letter was written to Mary by Leicester, and signed by several of the first rank, recommending Norfolk for her husband, and stipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms; particularly, that she should give sufficient surety to Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body, for the free enjoyment of the crown of England; that a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, should be made between their realms and subjects; that the protestant religion should be established by law in Scotland; and that she should grant an amnesty to her rebels in that kingdom. When Mary returned a favourable answer to this application, Norfolk employed himself with new ardour in the execution of his project; and besides securing the interests of many of the considerable gentry and nobility who resided at court, he wrote letters to such as lived at their country-seats, and possessed the greatest authority in the several counties. The kings of France and Spain, who interested themselves extremely in Mary's cause, were secretly consulted, and expressed their approbation of these measures. And though Elizabeth's consent was always supposed as a previous condition to the finishing of this alliance, it was apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded such lengths without consulting her, to render his party so strong, that it should no longer be in her power to refuse it.

It was impossible that so extensive a conspiracy could entirely escape the queen's vigilance and that of Cecil. She dropped several intimations to the duke, by which he might learn, that she was acquainted with his designs,

ſigns; and ſhe frequently warned him to beware on what pillow he repoſed his head: But he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions. Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was given her firſt by Leiceſter, then by Murray*, who, if ever he was ſincere in promoting Norfolk's marriage, which is much to be doubted, had at leaſt intended, for his own ſafety and that of his party, that Elizabeth ſhould, in reality as well as in appearance, be entire arbiter of the conditions, and ſhould not have her conſent extorted by any confederacy of her own ſubjects. This information gave great alarm to the court of England; and the more ſo, as thoſe intrigues were attended with other circumſtances, of which, it is probable, Elizabeth was not wholly ignorant.

Among the nobility and gentry, that ſeemed to enter into Norfolk's views, there were many, who were zealouſly attached to the catholic religion, who had no other deſign than that of reſtoring Mary to her liberty, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expence of a civil war, have placed her on the throne of England. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmorland, who poſſeſſed great power in the north, were leaders of this party; and the former nobleman made offer to the queen of Scots, by Leonard Dacres, brother to lord Dacres, that he would free her from confinement, and convey her to Scotland, or any other place to which ſhe ſhould think proper to retire. Sir Thomas and ſir Edward Stanley, ſons of the earl of Darby, ſir Thomas Gerrard, Rolſtone, and other gentlemen, whoſe intereſt lay in the neighbourhood of the place where Mary reſided, concurred in the ſame views; and required that, in order to facilitate the execution of the ſcheme, a diverſion ſhould, in the mean time, be made from the ſide of

* Leſley, p. 71. It appears by Haynes, p. 521, 525. that Elizabeth had heard rumours of Norfolk's dealing with Murray; and charged the latter to inform her of the whole truth, which he accordingly did. See the earl of Murray's letter produced on Norfolk's trial.

Flanders. Norfolk discouraged, and even in appearance suppressed, these conspiracies; both because his duty to Elizabeth would not allow him to think of effecting his purpose by rebellion, and because he foresaw that, if the queen of Scots came into the possession of these men, they would rather chuse for her husband the king of Spain, or some foreign prince, who had power, as well as inclination, to re-establish the catholic religion.

When men of honour and good principles, like the duke of Norfolk, engage in dangerous enterprises, they are commonly so unfortunate as to be criminal by halves; and while they balance between the execution of their designs and their remorses, their fear of punishment and their hope of pardon they render themselves an easy prey to their enemies. The duke, in order to repress the surmises spread against him, spoke contemptuously to Elizabeth of the Scottish alliance; affirmed that his estate in England was more valuable than the revenue of a kingdom wasted by civil wars and factions: and declared that, when he amused himself in his own tennis-court at Norwich amidst his friends and vassals, he deemed himself at least a petty prince, and was fully satisfied with his condition. Finding that he did not convince her by these asseverations, and that he was looked on with a jealous eye by the ministers, he retired to his country seat without taking leave. He soon after repented of this measure, and set out on his return to court, with a view of using every expedient to regain the queen's good graces; but he was met at St. Albans by Fitz-Garret, lieutenant of the band of pensioners, by whom he was conveyed to Burnham, three miles from Windsor, where the court then resided. He was soon after committed to the Tower, under the custody of sir Henry Nevil. Lesley bishop of Ross, the queen of Scot's ambassador, was examined, and confronted with Norfolk before the council. The earl of Pembroke was confined to his own house. Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton were taken into custody. The queen of Scots herself was removed to Coventry;

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all acceſs to her was, during ſome time, more ſtrictly prohibited; and viſcount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewſbury and Huntingdon, in the office of guarding her.

A rumour had been diffuſed in the north of an intended rebellion; and the earl of Suſſex, preſident of York, alarmed with the danger, ſent for Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, in order to examine them; but not finding any proof againſt them, he allowed them to depart. The report meanwhile gained ground daily; and many appearances of its reality being diſcovered, orders were diſpatched by Elizabeth to theſe two noblemen to appear at court, and anſwer for their conduct. They had already proceeded ſo far in their criminal deſign, that they dared not to truſt themſelves in her hands: They had prepared meaſures for the rebellion: had communicated their deſign to Mary and her miniſters; had entered into a correſpondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries; had obtained his promiſe of a reinforcement of troops, and of a ſupply of arms and ammunition; and had prevailed on him to ſend over to London Chiapino Vitelli, one of his moſt famous captains, on pretence of adjuſting ſome differences with the queen; but in reality with a view of putting him at the head of the northern rebels. The ſummons, ſent to the two earls, precipitated the riſing before they were fully prepared; and Northumberland remained in ſuſpenſe between oppoſite dangers, when he was informed that ſome of his enemies were on the way with a commiſſion to arreſt him. He took horſe inſtantly, and haſtened to his aſſociate Weſtmoreland, whom he found ſurrounded with his friends and vaſſals, and deliberating with regard to the meaſures which he ſhould follow in the preſent emergence. They determined to begin the inſurrection without delay; and the great credit of theſe two noblemen, with that zeal for the catholic religion, which ſtill prevailed in the neighbourhood, ſoon drew together multitudes of the common people. They publiſhed a manifeſto, in which

they declared, that they intended to attempt nothing againſt the queen, to whom they avowed unſhaken allegiance; and that their ſole aim was to re-eſtabliſh the religion of their anceſtors, to remove evil counſellors, and to reſtore the duke of Norfolk and other faithful peers to their liberty and to the queen's favour. The number of the malcontents amounted to four thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe; and they expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England.

The queen was not negligent in her own defence, and ſhe had beforehand, from her prudent and wiſe conduct, acquired the general good-will of her people, the beſt ſecurity of a ſovereign; inſomuch that even the catholics in moſt counties expreſſed an affection for her ſervice; and the duke of Norfolk himſelf, though he had loſt her favour, and lay in confinement, was not wanting, as far as his ſituation permitted, to promote the levies among his friends and retainers. Suſſex, attended by the earls of Rutland, the lords Hunſdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, marched againſt the rebels at the head of ſeven thouſand men, and found them already advanced to the biſhopric of Durham, of which they had taken poſſeſſion. They retired before him to Hexham; and hearing that the earl of Warwick and lord Clinton were advancing againſt them with a greater body, they found no other reſource than to diſperſe themſelves without ſtriking a blow. The common people retired to their houſes: The leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland was found ſkulking in that country, and was confined by Murray in the caſtle of Lochlevin. Weſtmoreland received ſhelter from the chieftains of the Kers and Scots, partiſans of Mary; and perſuaded them to make an inroad into England, with a view of exciting a quarrel between the two kingdoms. After they had committed great ravages, they retreated to their own country. This ſudden and precipitate rebellion was followed ſoon after by another ſtill more imprudent, raiſed by Leonard Dacres Lord Hunſdon, at the head of the garriſon of Berwick,

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was able, without any other assistance, to quell these rebels. Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in these rash enterprises. Sixty-six petty constable were hanged; and no less than eight hundred persons are said, on the whole, to have suffered by the hands of the executioner. But the queen was so well pleased with Norfolk's behaviour, that she released him from the Tower; allowed him to live, though under some shew of confinement, in his own house; and only exacted a promise from him not to proceed any farther in his negotiations with the queen of Scots.

Elizabeth now found that the detention of Mary was attended with all the ill consequences which she had foreseen when she first embraced that measure. This latter princess, recovering, by means of her misfortunes and her own natural good sense, from that delirium into which she seems to have been thrown during her attachment to Bothwel, had behaved with such modesty and judgment, and even dignity, that every one who approached her was charmed with her demeanor; and her friends were enabled, on some plausible grounds, to deny the reality of all those crimes which had been imputed to her. Compassion for her situation, and the necessity of procuring her liberty, proved an incitement among all her partisans to be active in promoting her cause, and as her deliverance from captivity, it was thought, could nowise be effected but by attempts dangerous to the established government, Elizabeth had reason to expect little tranquillity so long as the Scottish queen remained a prisoner in her hands. But as this inconvenience had been preferred to the danger of allowing that princess to enjoy her liberty, and to seek relief in all the catholic courts of Europe, it behoved the queen to support the measure which she had adopted, and to guard, by every prudent expedient, against the mischiefs to which it was exposed. She still flattered Mary with hopes of her protection, maintained an ambiguous conduct between that queen and her enemies in Scotland, negotiated perpetually concerning the

the terms of her reſtoration, made conſtant profeſſions of friendſhip to her; and by theſe artifices endeavoured both to prevent her from making any deſperate efforts for her deliverance, and to ſatisfy the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, who never intermitted their ſolicitations, ſometimes accompanied with menaces, in her behalf. This deceit was received with the ſame deceit by the queen of Scots: Profeſſions of confidence were returned by profeſſions equally inſincere: And while an appearance of friendſhip was maintained on both ſides, the animoſity and jealouſy, which had long prevailed between them, became every day more inveterate and incurable. Theſe two princeſſes, in addreſs, capacity, activity, and ſpirit, were nearly a match for each other; but unhappily, Mary, beſides her preſent forlorn condition, was always inferior in perſonal conduct and diſcretion, as well as in power, to her illuſtrious rival.

Elizabeth and Mary wrote at the ſame time letters to the regent. The queen of Scots deſired, that her marriage with Bothwel might be examined, and a divorce be legally pronounced between them. The queen of England gave Murray the choice of three conditions; that Mary ſhould be reſtored to her dignity on certain terms; that ſhe ſhould be aſſociated with her ſon, and the adminiſtration remain in the regent's hands, till the young prince ſhould come to years of diſcretion; or that ſhe ſhould be allowed to live at liberty as a private perſon in Scotland, and have an honourable ſettlement made in her favour. Murray ſummoned a convention of ſtates, in order to deliberate on theſe propoſals of the two queens: No anſwer was made by them to Mary's letter, on pretence that ſhe had there employed the ſtyle of a ſovereign, addreſſing herſelf to her ſubjects; but in reality, becauſe they ſaw that her requeſt was calculated to prepare the way for a marriage with Norfolk, or ſome powerful prince, who could ſupport her cauſe, and reſtore her to the throne. They replied to Elizabeth, that the two former conditions

tions were so derogatory to the royal authority of their prince, that they could not so much as deliberate concerning them: The third alone could be the subject of treaty. It was evident that Elizabeth, in proposing conditions so unequal in their importance, invited the Scots to a refusal of those which were most advantageous to Mary; and as it was difficult, if not impossible, to adjust all the terms of the third, so as to render it secure and eligible to all parties, it was concluded that she was not sincere in any of them.

1570. It is pretended, that Murray had entered into a private negotiation with the queen, to get Mary delivered into his hands; and as Elizabeth found the detention of her in England so dangerous, it is probable that she would have been pleased, on any honourable or safe terms, to rid herself of a prisoner who gave her so much inquietude.* But all these projects vanished by the sudden death of the regent, who was assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton. Murray was a person of considerable vigour, abilities, and constancy; but though he was not unsuccessful, during his regency, in composing the dissentions in Scotland, his talents shone out more eminently in the beginning than in the end of his life. His manners were rough and austere; and he possessed not that perfect integrity, which frequently accompanies, and can alone atone for, that unamiable character.

By the death of the regent, Scotland relapsed into

* By Murden's state papers, published after the writing of this history, it appears, that an agreement had been made between Elizabeth and the regent for the delivering up of Mary to him. The queen afterwards sent down Killigrew to the earl of Marre when regent, offering to put Mary into his hands. Killigrew was instructed to take good security from the regent, that that queen should be tried for her crimes, and that the sentence should be executed upon her. It appears that Marre rejected the offer, because we hear no more of it.

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anarchy. Mary's party aſſembled together, and made themſelves maſters of Edinburgh. The caſtle, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, ſeemed to favour her cauſe; and as many of the principal nobility had embraced that party, it became probable, though the people were in general averſe to her, that her authority might again acquire the aſcendant. To check its progreſs, Elizabeth diſpatched Suſſex with an army to the North, under colour of chaſtizing the ravages committed by the borderers. He entered Scotland, and laid waſte the lands of the Kers and Scots, ſeized the caſtle of Hume, and committed hoſtilities on all Mary's partiſans, who, he ſaid, had offended his miſtreſs by harbouring the Engliſh rebels. Sir William Drury was afterwards ſent with a body of troops, and he threw down the houſes of the Hamiltons, who were engaged in the ſame faction. The Engliſh armies were afterwards recalled by agreement with the queen of Scots, who promiſed, in return, that no French troops ſhould be introduced into Scotland, and that the Engliſh rebels ſhould be delivered up to the queen by her partiſans.

But though the queen, covering herſelf with the pretence of revenging her own quarrel, ſo far contributed to ſupport the party of the young king of Scots, ſhe was cautious not to declare openly againſt Mary; and ſhe even ſent a requeſt, which was equivalent to a command, to the enemies of that princeſs, not to elect, during ſome time, a regent in the place of Murray. Lenox, the king's grandfather, was therefore choſen temporary governor, under the title of Lieutenant. Hearing afterwards that Mary's partiſans, inſtead of delivering up Weſtmoreland, and the other fugitives, as they had promiſed, had allowed them to eſcape into Flanders; ſhe permitted the king's party to give Lenox the title of Regent, and ſhe ſent Randolph, as her reſident, to maintain a correſpondence with him. But notwithſtanding this ſtep, taken in favour of Mary's enemies,

enemies, ſhe never laid aſide her ambiguous conduct, or quitted the appearance of amity to that princeſs. Being importuned by the biſhop of Roſs, and her other agents, as well as by foreign ambaſſadors, ſhe twice procured a ſuſpenſion of arms between the Scottiſh factions, and by that means ſtopped the hands of the regent, who was likely to obtain advantages over the oppoſite party. By theſe ſeeming contrarieties ſhe kept alive the factions in Scotland, increaſed their mutual animoſity, and rendered the whole country a ſcene of devaſtation and of miſery. She had no intention to conquer the kingdom, and conſequently no intereſt or deſign to inſtigate the parties againſt each other; but this conſequence was an accidental effect of her cautious politics, by which ſhe was engaged, as far as poſſible, to keep on good terms with the queen of Scots, and never to violate the appearances of friendſhip with her, at leaſt thoſe of neutrality.*

The better to amuſe Mary with the proſpect of an accommodation, Cecil and ſir Walter Mildmay were ſent to her with propoſals from Elizabeth. The terms were ſomewhat rigorous, ſuch as a captive queen might expect from a jealous rival; and they thereby bore the greater appearance of ſincerity on the part of the Engliſh court. It was required that the queen of Scots, beſides renouncing all title to the crown of England during the lifetime of Elizabeth, ſhould make a perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive, between the king-

* Sir James Melvil, p. 108, 109, aſcribes to Elizabeth a poſitive deſign of animating the Scotch factions againſt each other; but his evidence is too inconſiderable to counterbalance many other authorities, and is, indeed, contrary to her ſubſequent conduct, as well as her intereſt, and the neceſſity of her ſituation. It was plainly her intereſt that the king's party ſhould prevail, and nothing could have engaged her to ſtop their progreſs, or even forbear openly aſſiſting them, but her intention of ſtill amuſing the queen of Scots, by the hopes of being peaceably reſtored to her throne. See farther, Strype, vol. ii. Append. p. 20.

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doms; that she should marry no Englishman without Elizabeth's consent, nor any other person without the consent of the states of Scotland; that compensation should be made for the late ravages committed in England; that justice should be executed on the murderers of king Henry; that the young prince should be sent into England, to be educated there; and that six hostages, all of them noblemen, should be delivered to the queen of England, with the castle of Hume, and some other fortress, for the security of performance. Such were the conditions upon which Elizabeth promised to contribute her endeavours towards the restoration of the deposed queen. The necessity of Mary's affairs obliged her to consent to them; and the kings of France and Spain, as well as the pope, when consulted by her, approved of her conduct; chiefly on account of the civil wars, by which all Europe was at that time agitated, and which incapacitated the catholic princes from giving her any assistance.

Elizabeth's commissioners proposed also to Mary a plan of accommodation with her subjects in Scotland, and after some reasoning on that head, it was agreed that the queen should require Lenox, the regent, to send commissioners, in order to treat of conditions under her mediation. The partisans of Mary boasted that all terms were fully settled with the court of England, and that the Scottish rebels would soon be constrained to submit to the authority of their sovereign. But Elizabeth took care that these rumours should meet with no credit, and that the king's party should not be discouraged, nor sink too low in their demands. Cecil wrote to inform the regent, that all the queen of England's proposals, so far from being fixed and irrevocable, were to be discussed anew in the conference; and desired him to send commissioners who should be constant in the king's cause, and cautious not to make concessions which might be prejudicial to their party. Sussex also, in his letters, dropped hints to the same purpose; and Elizabeth herself said to the abbot of

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Dunfermling, whom Lenox had ſent to the court of England, that ſhe would not inſiſt on Mary's reſtoration, provided the Scots could make the juſtice of their cauſe appear to her ſatisfaction: and that, even if their reaſons ſhould fall ſhort of full conviction, ſhe would take effectual care to provide for their future ſecurity.

1571. The parliament of Scotland appointed the earl of Morton, and ſir James Macgill, together with the abbot of Dumfermling, to manage the treaty. Theſe commiſſioners preſented memorials, containing reaſons for the depoſition of the queen; and they ſeconded their arguments with examples drawn from the Scottiſh hiſtory, with the authority of laws, and with the ſentiments of many famous divines. The lofty ideas which Elizabeth had entertained, of the abſolute, indefeaſible right of ſovereigns made her be ſhocked with theſe republican topics; and ſhe told the Scottiſh commiſſioners, that ſhe was nowiſe ſatisfied with their reaſons for juſtifying the conduct of their countrymen; and that they might therefore, without attempting any apology, proceed to open the conditions which they required for their ſecurity. They replied, that their commiſſion did not empower them to treat of any terms which might infringe the title and ſovereignty of their young king, but they would gladly hear whatever propoſals ſhould be made them by her majeſty. The conditions recommended by the queen were not diſadvantageous to Mary; but as the commiſſioners ſtill inſiſted, that they were not authoriſed to treat in any manner concerning the reſtoration of that princeſs, the conferences were neceſſarily at an end; and Elizabeth diſmiſſed the Scottiſh commiſſioners with injunctions, that they ſhould return, after having procured more ample powers from their parliament. The biſhop of Roſs openly complained to the Engliſh council, that they had abuſed his miſtreſs by fair promiſes and profeſſions; and Mary herſelf was no longer at a loſs to judge of Elizabeth's inſincerity. By reaſon of theſe diſappointments, mat-

ters came ſtill nearer to extremities between the two princeſſes; and the queen of Scots, finding all her hopes eluded, was more ſtrongly incited to make, at all hazards, every poſſible attempt for her liberty and ſecurity.

An incident alſo happened about this time, which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increaſe the vigilance and jealouſy of the latter princeſs. Pope Pius V. who had ſucceeded Paul, after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate by gentle means the friendſhip of Elizabeth, whom his predeceſſor's violence had irritated, iſſued at laſt a bull of excommunication againſt her, deprived her of all title to the crown, and abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance. It ſeems probable, that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended by that means to forward the northern rebellion; a meaſure which was at that time in agitation. John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the biſhop of London's palace; and ſcorning either to fly or to deny the fact, he was ſeized and condemned, and received the crown of martyrdom, for which he ſeems to have entertained ſo violent an ambition.

A new parliament, after five years' interval, was aſſembled at Weſtminſter; and as the queen, by the rage of the pope againſt her, was become ſtill more the head of the ruling party, it might be expected, both from this incident and from her own prudent and vigorous conduct, that her authority over the two houſes would be abſolutely uncontrollable. It was ſo in fact; yet is it remarkable, that it prevailed not without ſome ſmall oppoſition; and that too ariſing chiefly from the height of zeal for proteſtantiſm; a diſpoſition of the Engliſh, which in general contributed extremely to increaſe the queen's popularity. We ſhall be ſomewhat particular in relating the tranſactions of this ſeſſion, becauſe they ſhow, as well the extent of the royal power during that age, as the character of Elizabeth, and the genius of

her government. It will be curious alſo to obſerve the faint dawn of the ſpirit of liberty among the Engliſh, the jealouſy with which that ſpirit was repreſſed by the ſovereign, the imperious conduct which was maintained in oppoſition to it, and the eaſe with which it was ſubdued by this arbitrary princeſs.

The lord keeper Bacon, after the ſpeaker of the commons was elected, told the parliament, in the queen's name, that ſhe enjoined them not to meddle with any matters of ſtate: Such was his expreſſion; by which he probably meant, the queſtions of the queen's marriage and the ſucceſſion, about which they had before given her ſome uneaſineſs: For as to the other great points of government, alliances, peace and war, or foreign negotiations; no parliament in that age ever preſumed to take them under conſideration, or queſtion, in theſe particulars, the conduct of their ſovereign, or of his miniſters.

In the former parliament, the Puritans had introduced ſeven bills for a farther reformation in religion; but they had not been able to prevail in any one of them. This houſe of commons had ſitten a very few days, when Stricland, a member, revived one of the bills, that for the amendment of the liturgy. The chief objection, which he mentioned, was the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm. Another member added, the kneeling at the ſacrament; and remarked that, if a poſture of humiliation were requiſite in that act of devotion, it were better that the communicants ſhould throw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, in order to keep at the wideſt diſtance from former ſuperſtition.

Religion was a point, of which Elizabeth was, if poſſible, ſtill more jealous than of matters of ſtate. She pretended that, in quality of ſupreme head or governor of the church, ſhe was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all queſtions which might ariſe with regard to doctrine, diſcipline, or worſhip; and ſhe never would allow her parliaments ſo much as to take theſe points into conſideration. The courtiers did

not forget to inſiſt on this topic: The treaſurer of the houſhold, though he allowed that any hereſy might be repreſſed by parliament (a conceſſion which ſeems to have been raſh and unguarded; ſince the act, inveſting the crown with the ſupremacy, or rather recogniſing that prerogative, gave the ſovereign full power to reform all hereſies), yet he affirmed, that it belonged to the queen alone, as head of the church, to regulate every queſtion of ceremony in worſhip. The comptroller ſeconded this argument; inſiſted on the extent of the queen's prerogative; and ſaid that the houſe might, from former examples, have taken warning not to meddle with ſuch matters. One Paſtor oppoſed theſe remonſtrances of the courtiers. He was ſcandaliſed, he ſaid that affairs of ſuch infinite conſequence (namely, kneeling and making the ſign of the croſs) ſhould be paſſed over ſo lightly. Theſe queſtions, he added, concern the ſalvation of ſouls, and intereſt every one more deeply than the monarchy of the whole world. This cauſe he ſhewed to be the cauſe of God; the reſt were all but terrene, yea trifles in compariſon, call them ever ſo great: Subſidies, crowns, kingdoms, he knew not what weight they had when laid in the balance with ſubjects of ſuch unſpeakable importance. Though the zeal of this member ſeems to have been approved of, the houſe, overawed by the prerogative, voted upon the queſtion, that a petition ſhould be preſented to her majeſty, for her licence to proceed farther in this bill; and, in the mean time, that they ſhould ſtop all debate or reaſoning concerning it.

Matters would probably have reſted here, had not the queen been ſo highly offended with Stricland's preſumption, in moving the bill for reformation of the liturgy, that ſhe ſummoned him before the council, and prohibited him thenceforth from appearing in the houſe of commons. This act of power was too violent even for the ſubmiſſive parliament to endure. Carleton took notice of the matter; complained that the liberties of the houſe were invaded; obſerved that Stricland was not a pri-

a private man, but repreſented a multitude; and moved, that he might be ſent for, and, if he were guilty of any offence, might anſwer for it at the bar of the houſe, which he inſinuated to be the only competent tribunal. Yelverton enforced the principles of liberty with ſtill greater boldneſs. He ſaid, that the precedent was dangerous: And though in this happy time of lenity, among ſo many good and honourable perſonages as were at preſent inveſted with authority, nothing of extremity or injury was to be apprehended; yet the times might alter; what is now permitted, might hereafter be conſtrued as duty; and might be enforced even on the ground of the preſent permiſſion. He added, that all matters not treaſonable, or which implied not *too much* derogation of the imperial crown, might, without offence, be introduced into parliament; where every queſtion that concerned the community muſt be conſidered, and where even the right of the crown itſelf muſt finally be determined. He remarked, that men ſat not in that houſe in their private capacities, but as elected by their country; and though it was proper that the prince ſhould retain his prerogative, yet was that prerogative limited by law: As the ſovereign could not of himſelf make laws, neither could he break them, merely from his own authority.

Theſe principles were popular, noble, and generous; but the open aſſertion of them was, at this time ſomewhat new in England: and the courtiers were more warranted by preſent practice, when they advanced a contrary doctrine. The treaſurer warned the houſe to be cautious in their proceedings; neither to venture farther than their aſſured warrant might extend, nor hazard their good opinion with her majeſty in any doubtful cauſe. The member, he ſaid, whoſe attendance they required, was not reſtrained on account of any liberty of ſpeech, but for his exhibiting a bill in the houſe, againſt the prerogative of the queen; a temerity which was not to be tolerated. And he concluded with obſerving, that even ſpeeches, made in that houſe had been queſtioned and

examined by the ſovereign. Cleere, another member remarked, that the ſovereign's prerogative is not ſo much as diſputable, and that the ſafety of the queen is the ſafety of the ſubject. He added, that, in queſtions of divinity, every man was for his inſtruction to repair to his ordinary; and he ſeems to inſinuate, that the biſhops themſelves, for their inſtruction muſt repair to the queen. Fleetwood obſerved, that in his memory, he knew a man, who, in the fifth of the preſent queen, had been called to account for a ſpeech in the houſe. But leſt this example ſhould be deemed too recent, he would inform them from the parliament rolls, that, in the reign of Henry V. a biſhop was committed to priſon by the king's command, on account of his freedom of ſpeech; and the parliament preſumed not to go farther than to be humble ſuitors for him: In the ſubſequent reign the ſpeaker himſelf was committed, with another member; and the houſe found no other remedy than a like ſubmiſſive application. He adviſed the houſe to have recourſe to the ſame expedient; and not to preſume, either to ſend for their member, or demand him as of right. During this ſpeech, thoſe members of the privy council who ſat in the houſe, whiſpered together, upon which the ſpeaker moved, That the houſe ſhould make ſtay of all farther proceedings: A motion which was immediately complied with. The queen, finding that the experiment which ſhe had made was likely to excite a great ferment, ſaved her honour by this ſilence of the houſe; and leſt the queſtion might be reſumed, ſhe ſent next day, to Stricland, her permiſſion to give his attendance in parliament.

Notwithſtanding this rebuke from the throne, the zeal of the commons ſtill engaged them to continue the diſcuſſion of thoſe other bills which regarded religion; but they were interrupted by a ſtill more arbitrary proceeding of the queen, in which the lords condeſcended to be her inſtruments. This houſe ſent a meſſage to the commons, deſiring that a committee might attend them. Some members were appointed for that purpoſe; and the

the upper houſe acquainted them, that the queen's majeſty being informed of the articles of reformation which they had canvaſſed, approved of them, intended to publiſh them, and to make the biſhops execute them, by virtue of her royal authority, as ſupreme head of the church of England: But that ſhe would not permit them to be treated of in parliament. The houſe, though they did not entirely ſtop proceedings on account of this injunction, ſeem to have been nowiſe offended at ſuch haughty treatment: and in the iſſue all the bills came to nothing.

A motion made by Robert Bell, a puritan, againſt an excluſive patent granted to a company of merchants in Briſtol, gave alſo occaſion to ſeveral remarkable incidents. The queen, ſome days after the motion was made, ſent orders by the mouth of the ſpeaker, commanding the houſe, to ſpend little time in motions, and to avoid long ſpeeches. All the members underſtood that ſhe had been offended, becauſe a matter had been moved which ſeemed to touch her prerogative. Fleetwood accordingly ſpoke of this delicate ſubject. He obſerved, that the queen had a prerogative of granting patents: that to queſtion the validity of any patent, was to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign trade was entirely ſubjected to the pleaſure of the ſovereign; that even the ſtatute which gave liberty of commerce admitted of all prohibitions from the crown: and that the prince, when he granted an excluſive patent, only employed the power veſted in him, and prohibited all others from dealing in any particular branch of commerce. He quoted the clerk of the parliament's book, to prove that no man might ſpeak in parliament of the ſtatute of wills, unleſs the king firſt gave licence; becauſe the royal prerogative in the wards was thereby touched. He ſhewed likewiſe the ſtatutes of Edward I. Edward III. and Henry IV. with a ſaving of the prerogative. And in Edward VI's time, the protector was applied to for his allowance to mention matters of prerogative.

Sir

Sir Humphry Gilbert, the gallant and renowned ſea-adventurer, carried theſe topics ſtill farther. He endeavoured to prove the motion made by Bell to be a vain device, and perilous to be treated of; ſince it tended to the derogation of the prerogative imperial, which whoever ſhould attempt ſo much as in fancy, could not, he ſaid be otherwiſe accounted than an open enemy. For what difference is there between ſaying that the queen is not to uſe the privilege of the crown, and ſaying that ſhe is not queen? and though experience has ſhewn ſo much clemency in her majeſty, as might, perhaps, make ſubjects forget their duty; it is not good to ſport or venture too much with princes. He reminded them of the fable of the hare, who, upon the proclamation, that all horned beaſts ſhould depart the court, immediately fled, leſt his ears ſhould be conſtrued to be horns; and by this apologue he ſeems to inſinuate, that even thoſe who heard or permitted ſuch dangerous ſpeeches, would not themſelves be entirely free from danger. He deſired them to beware, leſt if they meddled farther with theſe matters, the queen might look to her own power: and finding herſelf able to ſuppreſs their challenged liberty, and to exert an arbitrary authority, might imitate the example of Lewis XI. of France, who, as he termed it, delivered the crown from wardſhip.

Though this ſpeech gave ſome diſguſt, no body, at the time, replied any thing, but that ſir Humphrey miſtook the meaning of the houſe, and of the member who made the motion: They never had any other purpoſe, than to repreſent their grievances, in due and ſeemly form unto her majeſty. But in a ſubſequent debate, Peter Wentworth, a man of a ſuperior free ſpirit, called that ſpeech an inſult on the houſe; noted ſir Humphrey's diſpoſition to flatter and fawn on the prince; compared him to the cameleon, which can change itſelf into all colours, except white; and recommended to the houſe a due care of liberty of ſpeech, and of the privileges of parliament. It appears, on the whole, that the motion againſt the excluſive patent had no effect. Bell, the member who

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firſt introduced it, was ſent for by the council, and was ſeverely reprimanded for his temerity. He returned to the houſe with ſuch an amazed countenance, that all the members, well informed of the reaſon, were ſtruck with terror; and, during ſome time, no one durſt riſe to ſpeak of any matter of importance, for fear of giving offence to the queen and the council. Even after the fears of the commons were ſomewhat abated, the members ſpoke with extreme precaution; and by employing moſt of their diſcourſe in preambles and apologies, they ſhewed their conſcious terror of the rod which hung over them. Wherever any delicate point was touched, though ever ſo gently; nay, ſeemed to be approached, though at ever ſo great a diſtance, the whiſper ran about the houſe, "The queen will be offended, the council will be extremely diſpleaſed:" And by theſe ſurmiſes men were warned of the danger to which they expoſed themſelves. It is remarkable, that the patent, which the queen defended with ſuch imperious violence, was contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of ſeven or eight thouſand of her induſtrious ſubjects.

Thus every thing which paſſed the two houſes, was extremely reſpectful and ſubmiſſive; yet did the queen think it incumbent on her, at the concluſion of the ſeſſion, to check, and that with great ſeverity, thoſe feeble efforts of liberty, which had appeared in the motions and ſpeeches of ſome members. The lord keeper told the commons, in her majeſty's name, that, though the majority of the lower houſe had ſhewn themſelves in their proceedings diſcreet and dutiful, yet a few of them had diſcovered a contrary character, and had juſtly merited the reproach of audacious, arrogant, and preſumptuous: contrary to their duty both as ſubjects and parliament-men nay, contrary to the expreſs injunctions given them from the throne at the beginning of the ſeſſion, injunctions, which it might well become them to have better attended to, they had preſumed to call in queſtion her majeſty's grants and prerogatives. But her majeſty warns them,

that

that ſince they thus wilfully forget themſelves, they are otherwiſe to be admoniſhed: Some other ſpecies of correction muſt be found for them; ſince neither the commands of her majeſty, nor the examples of their wiſer brethren, can reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and preſumptuous folly, by which they are thus led to meddle with what nowiſe belongs to them, and what lies beyond the compaſs of their underſtanding.

In all theſe tranſactions appears clearly the opinion which Elizabeth had entertained of the duty and authority of parliaments. They were not to canvaſs any matters of ſtate; ſtill leſs were they to meddle with the church. Queſtions of either kind were far above their reach, and were appropriated to the prince alone, or to thoſe councils and miniſters with whom he was pleaſed to entruſt them. What then was the office of parliaments? They might give directions for the due tanning of leather, or milling of cloth; for the preſervation of of pheaſants and partridges; for the reparation of bridges and highways; for the puniſhment of vagabonds or common beggars. Regulations concerning the police of the country came properly under their inſpection; and the laws of this kind which they preſcribed had, if not a greater, yet a more durable authority, than thoſe which were derived ſolely from the proclamations of the ſovereign. Precedents or reports could fix a rule for deciſions in private property, or the puniſhment of crimes; but no alteration or innovation in the municipal law could proceed from any other ſource than the parliament; nor would the courts of juſtice be induced to change their eſtabliſhed practice by an order of council. But the moſt acceptable part of parliamentary proceedings was the granting of ſubſidies; the attainting and puniſhing of the obnoxious nobility, or any miniſter of ſtate after his fall; the countenancing of ſuch great efforts of power, as might be deemed ſomewhat exceptionable, when they proceeded entirely from the ſovereign. The redreſs of grievances was ſometimes promiſed to the people; but ſeldom could have place, while

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it was an eſtabliſhed rule, that the prerogatives of the crown muſt not be abridged, or ſo much as queſtioned and examined in parliament. Even though monopolies and excluſive companies had already reached an enormous height, and were every day increaſing, to the deſtruction of all liberty, and extinction of all induſtry; it was criminal in a member to propoſe, in the moſt dutiful and regular manner, a parliamentary application againſt any of them.

Theſe maxims of government were not kept ſecret by Elizabeth, or ſmoothed over by any fair appearances or plauſible pretences. They were openly avowed in her ſpeeches and meſſages to parliament; and were accompanied with all the haughtineſs, nay ſometimes bitterneſs, of expreſſion, which the meaneſt ſervant could look for from his offended maſter. Yet notwithſtanding this conduct, Elizabeth continued to be the moſt popular ſovereign that ever ſwayed the ſceptre of England; becauſe the maxims of her reign were conformable to the principles of the times, and to the opinion generally entertained with regard to the conſtitution. The continued encroachments of popular aſſemblies on Elizabeth's ſucceſſors have ſo changed our ideas in theſe matters, that the paſſages above mentioned appear to us extremely curious, and even at firſt ſurpriſing; but they were ſo little remarked during the time, that neither Camden, though a contemporary writer, nor any other hiſtorian, has taken any notice of them. So abſolute, indeed, was the authority of the crown, that the precious ſpark of liberty had been kindled, and was preſerved, by the Puritans alone; and it was to this ſect, whoſe principles appear ſo frivolous and habits ſo ridiculous, that the Engliſh owe the whole freedom of their conſtitution. Actuated by that zeal which belongs to innovators, and by the courage which enthuſiaſm inſpires, they hazarded the utmoſt indignation of their ſovereign; and employing all their induſtry to be elected into parliament, a matter not difficult while a ſeat was rather regarded as a burthen than

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an advantage,* they firſt acquired a majority in that aſſembly, and then obtained an aſcendant over the church and monarchy.

The following were the principal laws enacted this ſeſſion. It was declared treaſon, during the life-time of the queen, to affirm, that ſhe was not the lawful ſovereign, or that any other poſſeſſed a preferable title, or that ſhe was a heretic, ſchiſmatic, or infidel, or that the laws and ſtatutes cannot limit and determine the right of the crown and the ſucceſſor thereof: To maintain in writing or printing, that any perſon, except the *natural iſſue* of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or ſucceſſor, ſubjected the perſon, and all his abettors, for the firſt offence, to impriſonment during a year, and to the forfeiture of half their goods: The ſecond offence ſubjected them to the penalty of a præmunire. This law was plainly levelled againſt the queen of Scots and her partiſans; and implied an avowal, that Elizabeth never intended to declare her ſucceſſor. It may be noted, that the uſual phraſe of *lawful iſſue*, which the parliament thought indecent towards the queen, as if ſhe could be ſuppoſed to have any other, was changed into that of *natural iſſue*. But this alteration was the ſource of pleaſantry during the time; and ſome ſuſpected a deeper deſign, as if Leiceſter intended, in caſe of the queen's demiſe, to produce ſome baſtard of his own, and affirm that he was her offſpring.

It was alſo enacted, that whoſoever by bulls ſhould publiſh abſolutions or other reſcripts of the pope, or ſhould, by means of them, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, ſuch offenders, as well as thoſe who were ſo reconciled, ſhould be guilty of treaſon. The penalty of a præmunire was impoſed on every one who imported any *Agnus Dei*, crucifix, or ſuch other implement of ſuperſtition, conſecrated by the pope. The

* It appeared this ſeſſion, that a bribe of four pounds had been given to a mayor for a ſeat in parliament. D'Ewes, p. 18.. It is probable that the member had no other view than the privilege of being free from arreſts.

former laws againſt uſury were enforced by a new ſtatute. A ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths was granted by parliament. The queen, as ſhe was determined to yield to them none of her power, was very cautious in aſking them for any ſupply. She endeavoured, either by a rigid frugality to make her ordinary revenues ſuffice for the neceſſities of the crown, or ſhe employed her prerogative, and procured money by the granting of patents, monopolies, or by ſome ſuch ruinous expedient.

Though Elizabeth poſſeſſed ſuch uncontrolled authority over her parliaments, and ſuch extenſive influence over her people; though, during a courſe of thirteen years ſhe had maintained the public tranquillity, which was only interrupted by the haſty and ill-concerted inſurrection in the north, ſhe was ſtill kept in great anxiety, and felt her throne perpetually totter under her. The violent commotions excited in France and the Low Countries, as well as in Scotland, ſeemed in one view to ſecure her againſt any diſturbance; but they ſerved, on more reflection, to inſtruct her in the danger of her ſituation, when ſhe remarked that England, no leſs than theſe neighbouring countries, contained the ſeeds of inteſtine diſcord, the differences of religious opinion, and the furious intolerance and animoſity of the oppoſite ſectaries.

The league, formed at Bayonne in 1566 for the extermination of the proteſtants, had not been concluded ſo ſecretly but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligni, and the other leaders of the hugonots; and finding that the meaſures of the court agreed with their ſuſpicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to ſtrike a blow before the catholics were aware of the danger. The hugonots, though diſperſed over the whole kingdom, formed a kind of ſeparate empire; and being cloſely united, as well by their religious zeal, as by the dangers to which they were perpetually expoſed, they obeyed, with entire ſubmiſſion, the orders of their leaders, who were

ready on every signal to fly to arms. The king and queen mother were living in great security at Monceaux in Brie, when they found themselves surrounded by protestant troops, which had secretly marched thither from all quarters; and had not a body of Swiss come speedily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they must have fallen, without resistance, into the hands of the malcontents. A battle was afterwards fought in the plains of St. Dennis; where, though the old constable Montmorency, the general of the catholics, was killed, combating bravely at the head of his troops, the hugonots were finally defeated. Condé, collecting his broken forces, and receiving a strong reinforcement from the German protestants, appeared again in the field; and, laying siege to Chartres, a place of great importance, obliged the court to agree to a new accommodation.

So great was the mutual animosity of those religionists, that even had the leaders on both sides been ever so sincere in their intentions for peace, and reposed ever so much confidence in each other, it would have been difficult to retain the people in tranquillity; much more, where such extreme jealousy prevailed, and where the court employed every pacification as a snare for their enemies. A plan was laid for seizing the person of the prince and admiral; who narrowly escaped to Rochelle, and summoned their partisans to their assistance. The civil wars were renewed with greater fury than ever, and the parties became still more exasperated against each other. The young duke of Anjou, brother to the king, commanded the forces of the catholics; and fought, in 1569, a great battle at Jarnac with the hugonots, where the prince of Condé was killed, and his army defeated. This discomfiture, with the loss of so great a leader, reduced not the hugonots to despair. The admiral still supported the cause; and having placed at the head of the protestants the prince of Navarre, then sixteen years of age, and the young prince of Condé, he encouraged the party rather to

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periſh bravely in the field, than ignominiouſly by the hands of the executioner. He collected ſuch numbers, ſo determined to endure every extremity, that he was enabled to make head againſt the duke of Anjou; and being ſtrengthened by a new reinforcement of Germans, he obliged that prince to retreat and to divide his forces.

Coligni then laid ſiege to Poitiers; and as the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterpriſe, the duke of Guiſe, emulous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himſelf into the place, and ſo animated the garriſon by his valour and conduct, that the admiral was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Such was the commencement of that unrivalled fame and grandeur afterwards attained by this duke of Guiſe. The attachment which all the catholics had borne to his father was immediately transferred to the ſon; and men pleaſed themſelves in comparing all the great and ſhining qualities which ſeemed in a manner hereditary in that family. Equal in affability, in munificence, in addreſs, in eloquence, and in every quality which engages the affections of men; equal alſo in valour, in conduct, in enterpriſe, in capacity; there ſeemed only this difference between them, that the ſon, educated in more turbulent times, and finding a greater diſſolution of all law and order, exceeded the father in ambition and temerity, and was engaged in enterpriſes ſtill more deſtructive to the authority of his ſovereign, and to the repoſe of his native country.

Elizabeth, who kept her attention fixed on the civil commotions of France, was nowiſe pleaſed with this new riſe of her enemies the Guiſes; and being anxious for the fate of the proteſtants, whoſe intereſts were connected with her own, ſhe was engaged, notwithſtanding her averſion from all rebellion, and from all oppoſition to the will of the ſovereign, to give them ſecretly ſome aſſiſtance. Beſides employing her authority with the German princes, ſhe lent money to the queen of Na-

varre, and received some jewels as pledges for the loan. And she permitted Henry Champernon to levy, and transport over into France, a regiment of a hundred gentlemen volunteers; among whom Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to distinguish himself in that great school of military valour. The admiral, constrained by the impatience of his troops, and by the difficulty of subsisting them, fought with the duke of Anjou the battle of Moncontour in Poictou, where he was wounded and defeated. The court of France, notwithstanding their frequent experience of the obstinacy of the hugonots, and the vigour of Coligni, vainly flattered themselves that the force of the rebels was at last finally annihilated; and they neglected farther preparations against a foe, who, they thought, could never more become dangerous. They were surprised to hear that this leader had appeared, without dismay, in another quarter of the kingdom; had encouraged the young princes, whom he governed, to like constancy; had assembled an army; had taken the field; and was even strong enough to threaten Paris. The public finances, diminished by the continued disorders of the kingdom, and wasted by so many fruitless military enterprises, could no longer bear the charge of a new armament; and the king, notwithstanding his extreme animosity against the hugonots, was obliged, in 1570, to conclude an accommodation with them, to grant them a pardon for all past offences, and to renew the edicts for liberty of conscience.

Though a pacification was seemingly concluded, the mind of Charles was nowise reconciled to his rebellious subjects; and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was nothing but a snare, by which the perfidious court had projected to destroy at once, without danger, all its formidable enemies. As the two young princes, the admiral, and the other leaders of the hugonots, instructed by past experience, discovered an extreme distrust of the king's intentions, and kept themselves in security

ſecurity at a diſtance, all poſſible artifices were employed to remove their apprehenſions, and to convince them of the ſincerity of the new counſels which ſeemed to be embraced. The terms of the peace were religiouſly obſerved to them; the toleration was ſtrictly maintained; all attempts made by the zealous catholics to infringe it were puniſhed with ſeverity; offices, and favours, and honours, were beſtowed on the principal nobility among the proteſtants; and the king and council every where declared, that, tired of civil diſorders, and convinced of the impoſſibility of forcing men's conſciences, they were thenceforth determined to allow every one the free exercise of his religion.

Among the other artifices employed to lull the proteſtants into a fatal ſecurity, Charles affected to enter into cloſe connection with Elizabeth; and as it ſeemed not the intereſt of France to forward the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, that princeſs the more eaſily flattered herſelf that the French monarch would prefer her friendſhip to that of the queen of Scots. The better to deceive her, propoſals of marriage were made her with the duke of Anjou; a prince whoſe youth, beauty, and reputation for valour, might naturally be ſuppoſed to recommend him to a woman who had appeared not altogether inſenſible to theſe endowments. The queen immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and being intent on that artifice, ſhe laid herſelf the more open to be deceived. Negotiations were entered into with regard to the marriage; terms of the contract were propoſed; difficulties ſtarted and removed; and the two courts, equally inſincere, though not equally culpable, ſeemed to approach every day nearer to each other in their demands and conceſſions. The great obſtacle ſeemed to lie in adjuſting the difference of religion; becauſe Elizabeth, who recommended toleration to Charles, was determined not to grant it in her own dominions, not even to her huſband; and the duke of Anjou ſeemed

unwilling to submit, for the sake of interest, to the dishonour of an apostacy.

The artificial politics of Elizabeth never triumphed so much in any contrivances as in those which were conjoined with her coquetry; and as her character in this particular was generally known, the court of France thought that they might, without danger of forming any final conclusion, venture the farther in their concessions and offers to her. The queen also had other motives for dissimulation. Besides the advantage of discouraging Mary's partisans, by the prospect of an alliance between France and England, her situation with Philip demanded her utmost vigilance and attention; and the violent authority established in the Low Countries, made her desirous of fortifying herself even with the bare appearance of a new confederacy.

The theological controversies which had long agitated Europe had, from the beginning, penetrated into the Low Countries; and, as these provinces maintained an extensive commerce, they had early received from every kingdom with which they corresponded, a tincture of religious innovation. An opinion at that time prevailed, which had been zealously propagated by priests, and implicitly received by sovereigns, that heresy was closely connected with rebellion, and that every great or violent alteration in the church involved a like revolution in the civil government. The forward zeal of the reformers would seldom allow them to wait the consent of the magistrate to their innovations: They became less dutiful when opposed and punished: And though their pretended spirit of reasoning and enquiry was, in reality, nothing but a new species of implicit faith, the prince took the alarm, as if no institutions could be secure from the temerity of their researches. The emperor Charles, who proposed to augment his authority, under pretence of defending the catholic faith, easily adopted these political principles; and, notwithstanding the limited prerogative which he possessed in the Netherlands,

lands, he publiſhed the moſt arbitrary, ſevere, and tyrannical edicts againſt the proteſtants; and he took care that the execution of them ſhould be no leſs violent and ſanguinary. He was neither cruel nor bigotted in his natural diſpoſition; yet an hiſtorian, celebrated for moderation and caution, has computed, that, in the ſeveral perſecutions promoted by that monarch, no leſs than a hundred thouſand perſons periſhed by the hands of the executioner.* But theſe ſevere remedies, far from anſwering the purpoſes intended, had rather ſerved to augment the numbers as well as zeal of the reformers; and the magiſtrates of the ſeveral towns, ſeeing no end of thoſe barbarous executions, felt their humanity rebel againſt their principles, and declined any farther perſecution of the new doctrines.

When Philip ſucceeded to his father's dominions, the Flemings were juſtly alarmed with new apprehenſions; leſt their prince, obſerving the lenity of the magiſtrates, ſhould take the execution of the edicts from ſuch remiſs hands, and ſhould eſtabliſh the inquiſition in the Low Countries, accompanied with all the iniquities and barbarities which attended it in Spain. The ſevere and unrelenting character of the man, his profeſſed attachment to Spaniſh manners, the inflexible bigotry of his principles; all theſe circumſtances increaſed their terror: And when he departed the Netherlands, with a known intention never to return, the diſguſt of the inhabitants was extremely augmented, and their dread of thoſe tyrannical orders which their ſovereign, ſurrounded with Spaniſh miniſters, would iſſue from his cabinet at Madrid. He left the duchess of Parma, governeſs of the Low Countries; and the plain good ſenſe and good temper of that princeſs, had ſhe been entruſted with the ſole power, would have preſerved the ſubmiſſion of thoſe opulent provinces, which were loſt from that refinement of treacherous and bar-

* Grotii Annal. lib. i. Father Paul, another great authority, computes in a paſſage above cited, that fifty thouſand perſons were put to death in the Low Countries alone.

barous

barous politics on which Philip ſo highly valued himſelf. The Flemings found, that the name alone of regent remained with the ducheſs; that cardinal Granville entirely poſſeſſed the king's confidence; that attempts were every day made on their liberties; that a reſolution was taken never more to aſſemble the ſtates; that new biſhoprics were arbitrarily erected, in order to enforce the execution of the perſecuting edicts; and that, on the whole, they muſt expect to be reduced to the condition of a province under the Spaniſh monarchy. The diſcontents of the nobility gave countenance to the complaints of the gentry, which encouraged the mutiny of the populace; and all orders of men ſhowed a ſtrong diſpoſition to revolt. Aſſociations were formed, tumultuary petitions preſented, names of diſtinction aſſumed, badges of party diſplayed; and the current of the people, impelled by religious zeal, and irritated by feeble reſiſtance, roſe to ſuch a height, that in ſeveral towns, particularly in Antwerp, they made an open invaſion on the eſtabliſhed worſhip, pillaged the churches and monaſteries, broke the images, and committed the moſt unwarrantable diſorders.

The wiſer part of the nobility, particularly the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn, were alarmed at theſe exceſſes, to which their own diſcontents had at firſt given countenance; and ſeconding the wiſdom of the governeſs, they ſuppreſſed the dangerous inſurrections, puniſhed the ringleaders, and reduced all the provinces to a ſtate of order and ſubmiſſion. But Philip was not contented with the re-eſtabliſhment of his ancient authority: He conſidered, that provinces, ſo remote from the ſeat of government, could not be ruled by a limited prerogative; and that a prince, who muſt entreat rather than command, would neceſſarily, when he reſided not among the people, feel every day a diminution of his power and influence. He determined, therefore, to lay hold of the late popular diſorders, as a pretence for entirely aboliſhing the privileges of the low country provinces; and for

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ruling them thenceforth with a military and arbitrary authority.

In the execution of this violent design, he employed a man, who was a proper instrument in the hands of such a tyrant. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, had been educated amidst arms: and having attained a consummate knowledge in the military art, his habits led him to transfer into all government the severe discipline of a camp, and to conceive no measures between prince and subject, but those of rigid command and implicit obedience. This general, in 1568, conducted from Italy to the Low Countries a powerful body of veteran Spaniards; and his avowed animosity to the Flemings, with his known character, struck that whole people with terror and consternation. It belongs not to our subject to relate at length those violences which Alva's natural barbarity, steeled by reflection, and aggravated by insolence, exercised on those flourishing provinces. It suffices to say, that all their privileges, the gift of so many princes, and the inheritance of so many ages, were openly and expressly abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals erected, the counts Egmont and Horn, in spite of their great merits and past services, brought to the scaffold; multitudes of all ranks thrown into confinement, and thence delivered over to the executioner: And, notwithstanding the peaceable submission of all men, nothing was heard of but confiscation, imprisonment, exile, torture, and death.

Elizabeth was equally displeased to see the progress of that scheme, laid for the extermination of the protestants, and to observe the erection of so great a military power, in a state situated in so near a neighbourhood. She gave protection to all the Flemish exiles who took shelter in her dominions; and as many of these were the most industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had rendered that country celebrated for its arts, she reaped the advantage of introducing into England some useful manufactures, which were formerly unknown in that kingdom. Foreseeing that the violent

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government of Alva could not long subsist without exciting some commotion, she ventured to commit an insult upon him, which she would have been cautious not to hazard against a more established authority. Some Genoese merchants had engaged, by contract with Philip, to transport into Flanders the sum of four hundred thousand crowns; and the vessels, on which this money was embarked, had been attacked in the Channel by some privateers equipped by the French hugonots, and had taken shelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The commanders of the ships pretended that the money belonged to the king of Spain; but the queen, finding, upon enquiry, that it was the property of Genoese merchants, took possession of it as a loan; and by that means deprived the duke of Alva of this resource in the time of his greatest necessity. Alva, in revenge, seized all the English merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into prison, and confiscated their effects. The queen retaliated by a like violence on the Flemish and Spanish merchants; and gave all the English liberty to make reprisals on the subjects of Philip.

These differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, and mutual reparations were made to the merchants: But nothing could repair the loss which so well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spanish government in the Low Countries. Alva, in want of money, and dreading the immediate mutiny of his troops, to whom great arrears were due, imposed by his arbitrary will the most ruinous taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all moveable goods: He also demanded the tenth of all moveable goods on every sale; an absurd tyranny, which would not only have destroyed all arts and commerce, but even have restrained the common intercourse of life. The people refused compliance: The duke had recourse to his usual expedient of the gibbet: And thus matters came still nearer the last extremities between the Flemings and the Spaniards.

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All the enemies of Elizabeth, in order to revenge themſelves for her inſults, had naturally recourſe to one policy, the ſupporting of the cauſe and pretenſions of the queen of Scots; and Alva, whoſe meaſures were ever violent, ſoon opened a ſecret intercourſe with that princeſs. There was one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had reſided about fifteen years in London, and who, while he conducted his commerce in England, had managed all the correſpondence of the court of Rome with the catholic nobility and gentry. He had been thrown into priſon at the time when the duke of Norfolk's intrigues with Mary had been diſcovered; but either no proof was found againſt him, or the part which he had acted was not very criminal; and he ſoon after recovered his liberty. This man, zealous for the catholic faith, had formed a ſcheme, in concert with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, for ſubverting the government, by a foreign invaſion and a domeſtic inſurrection; and when he communicated his project, by letter, to Mary, he found that, as ſhe was now fully convinced of Elizabeth's artifices, and deſpaired of ever recovering her authority, or even her liberty, by pacific meaſures, ſhe willingly gave her concurrence. The great number of diſcontented catholics were the chief ſource of their hopes on the ſide of England; and they alſo obſerved, that the kingdom was, at that time, full of indigent gentry, chiefly younger brothers, who, having at preſent, by the late decay of the church, and the yet languiſhing ſtate of commerce, no proſpect of a livelihood ſuitable to their birth, were ready to throw themſelves into any deſperate enterpriſe. But in order to inſpire life and courage into all theſe malcontents, it was requiſite that ſome great nobleman ſhould put himſelf at their head; and no one appeared to Rodolphi, and to the biſhop of Roſs, who entered into all theſe intrigues, ſo proper, both on account of his power and his popularity, as the duke of Norfolk.

This nobleman, when releaſed from confinement in the Tower, had given his promiſe, that he would drop all intercourſe

intercourſe with the queen of Scots; but finding that he had loſt, and, as he feared, beyond recovery, the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, and being ſtill, in ſome degree, reſtrained from his liberty, he was tempted, by impatience and deſpair, to violate his word, and to open anew his correſpondence with the captive princeſs. A promiſe of marriage was renewed between them; the duke engaged to enter into all her intereſts; and as his remorſes gradually diminiſhed in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, he was puſhed to give his conſent to enterpriſes ſtill more criminal. Rodolphi's plan was, that the duke of Alva ſhould, on ſome other pretence, aſſemble a great quantity of ſhipping in the Low Countries; ſhould tranſport a body of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, into England; ſhould land them at Harwich, where the duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; ſhould thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to ſubmit to whatever terms the conſpirators ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon her. Norfolk expreſſed his aſſent to this plan; and three letters, in conſequence of it, were written in his name by Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but the duke, apprehenſive of the danger, refuſed to ſign them. He only ſent to the Spaniſh ambaſſador a ſervant and confident, named Barker, as well to notify his concurrence in the plan, as to vouch for the authenticity of theſe letters; and Rodolphi, having obtained a letter of credence from the ambaſſador, proceeded on his journey to Bruſſels and to Rome. The duke of Alva and the pope embraced the ſcheme with alacrity: Rodolphi informed Norfolk of their intentions: And every thing ſeemed to concur in forwarding the undertaking.

Norfolk, notwithſtanding theſe criminal enterpriſes, had never entirely forgotten his duty to his ſovereign, his country, and his religion; and though he had laid the plan both of an invaſion and an inſurrection, he ſtill flattered himſelf, that the innocence of his intentions would juſtify the violence of his meaſures, and that,

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as he aimed at nothing but the liberty of the queen of Scots, and the obtaining of Elizabeth's conſent to his marriage, he could not juſtly reproach himſelf as a rebel and a traitor. It is certain, however, that, conſidering the queen's vigour and ſpirit, the ſcheme, if ſucceſsful, muſt finally have ended in dethroning her; and her authority was here expoſed to the utmoſt danger.

The conſpiracy hitherto had entirely eſcaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of ſecretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was from another attempt of Norfolk's, that they firſt obtained a hint, which, being diligently traced, led at laſt to a full diſcovery. Mary had intended to ſend a ſum of money to lord Herries, and her partiſans in Scotland: and Norfolk undertook to have it delivered to Banniſter, a ſervant of his, at that time in the north, who was to find ſome expedient for conveying it to lord Herries. He entruſted the money to a ſervant who was not in the ſecret, and told him, that the bag contained a ſum of money in ſilver, which he was to deliver to Banniſter with a letter: But the ſervant conjecturing, from the weight and ſize of the bag, that it was full of gold, carried the letter to Burleigh; who immediately ordered Banniſter, Barker, and Hicford, the duke's ſecretary, to be put under arreſt, and to undergo, a ſevere examination. Torture made them confeſs the whole truth; and as Hicford, though ordered to burn all papers, had carefully kept them concealed under the mats of the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the houſe, full evidence now appeared againſt his maſter. Norfolk himſelf, who was entirely ignorant of the diſcoveries made by his ſervants, was brought before the council; and though exhorted to atone for his guilt by a full confeſſion, he perſiſted in denying every crime with which he was charged. The queen always declared, that, if he had given her this proof of his ſincere repentance, ſhe would have pardoned all his former offences; but finding him obſtinate, ſhe committed him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial. The biſhop of Roſs

had, on some suspicion, been committed to custody before the discovery of Norfolk's guilt; and every expedient was employed to make him reveal his share in the conspiracy. He at first insisted on his privilege; but he was told, that, as his mistress was no longer a sovereign, he would not be regarded as an ambassador, and that, even if that character was allowed, it did not warrant him in conspiring against the sovereign at whose court he resided. As he still refused to answer interrogatories, he was informed of the confession made by Norfolk's servants; after which he no longer scrupled to make a full discovery; and his evidence put the guilt of that nobleman beyond all question.

1572. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimously passed sentence upon him. The trial was quite regular, even according to the strict rules observed at present in these matters; except that the witnesses gave not their evidence in court, and were not confronted with the prisoner: A laudable practice, which was not at that time observed in trials for high treason.

The queen still hesitated concerning Norfolk's execution, whether that she was really moved by friendship and compassion towards a peer of that rank and merit, or that, affecting the praise of clemency, she only put on the appearance of these sentiments. Twice she signed a warrant for his execution, and twice revoked the fatal sentence; and though her ministers and counsellors pushed her to rigour, she still appeared irresolute and undetermined. After four months hesitation, a parliament was assembled; and the commons addressed her, in strong terms, for the execution of the duke; a sanction which, when added to the greatness and certainty of his guilt, would, she thought, justify, in the eyes of all mankind, her severity against that nobleman. Norfolk died with calmness and constancy; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. That we may relate together affairs of a similar nature, we shall mention,

that the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, was alſo, a few months after, brought to the ſcaffold for his rebellion.

The queen of Scots was either the occaſion or the cauſe of all theſe diſturbances; but as ſhe was a ſovereign princeſs, and might reaſonably, from the harſh treatment which ſhe had met with, think herſelf entitled to uſe any expedient for her relief; Elizabeth durſt not, as yet, form any reſolution of proceeding to extremities againſt her. She only ſent lord Delawar, ſir Ralph Sadler, ſir Thomas Bromley, and Dr. Wilſon, to expoſtulate with her, and to demand ſatisfaction for all thoſe parts of her conduct which, from the beginning of her life, had given diſpleaſure to Elizabeth: Her aſſuming the arms of England, refuſing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, intending to marry Norfolk without the queen's conſent, concurring in the northern rebellion, practiſing with Rodolphi to engage the king of Spain in an invaſion of England, procuring the pope's bull of excommunication, and allowing her friends abroad to give her the title of queen of England. Mary juſtified herſelf from the ſeveral articles of the charge, either by denying the facts imputed to her, or by throwing the blame on others. But the queen was little ſatisfied with her apology; and the parliament was ſo enraged againſt her, that the commons made a direct application for her immediate trial and execution. They employed ſome topics derived from practice and reaſon, and the laws of nations; but the chief ſtreſs was laid on paſſages and examples from the Old Teſtament, which, if conſidered as a general rule of conduct (an intention which it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe,) would lead to conſequences deſtructive of all principles of humanity and morality. Matters were here carried farther than Elizabeth intended; and that princeſs, ſatisfied with ſhewing Mary the diſpoſition of the nation, ſent to the houſe her expreſs commands, not to deal any farther at preſent in the affair of the Scottiſh queen. Nothing could be a ſtronger proof, that the

puritanical intereſt prevailed in the houſe, than the intemperate uſe of authorities derived from ſcripture, eſpecially from the Old Teſtament; and the queen was ſo little a lover of that ſect, that ſhe was not likely to make any conceſſion merely in deference to their ſolicitation. She ſhewed, this ſeſſion, her diſapprobation of their ſchemes in another remarkable inſtance. The commons had paſſed two bills for regulating eccleſiaſtical ceremonies; but ſhe ſent them a like imperious meſſage with her former ones; and by the terror of her prerogative, ſhe ſtopped all farther proceeding in thoſe matters.

But though Elizabeth would not carry matters to ſuch extremities againſt Mary, as were recommended by the parliament, ſhe was alarmed at the great intereſt and the reſtleſs ſpirit of that princeſs, as well as her cloſe connections with Spain; and ſhe thought it neceſſary both to encreaſe the rigour and ſtrictneſs of her confinement, and to follow maxims different from thoſe which ſhe had hitherto purſued in her management of Scotland. That kingdom remained ſtill in a ſtate of anarchy. The caſtle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of that party, encouraged by his countenance, had taken poſſeſſion of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war againſt the regent. By a ſudden and unexpected inroad, they ſeized that nobleman at Stirling; but finding that his friends, ſallying from the caſtle, were likely to reſcue him, they inſtantly put him to death. The earl of Marre was choſen regent in his room; and found the ſame difficulties in the government of that divided country. He was therefore glad to accept of the mediation offered by the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors; and to conclude on equal terms a truce with the queen's party. He was a man of a free and generous ſpirit, and ſcorned to ſubmit to any dependence on England; and for this reaſon Elizabeth who had then formed intimate connexions with France, yielded with leſs reluctance to the ſolicitations of that court, ſtill

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maintained the appearance of neutrality between the parties, and allowed matters to remain on a balance in Scotland. But affairs soon after took a new turn: Marre died of melancholy, with which the diſtracted ſtate of the country affected him: Morton was choſen regent; and as this nobleman had ſecretly taken all his meaſures with Elizabeth, who no longer relied on the friendſhip of the French court, ſhe reſolved to exert herſelf more effectually for the ſupport of the party which ſhe had always favoured. She ſent ſir Henry Killegrew ambaſſador to Scotland, who found Mary's partiſans ſo diſcouraged by the diſcovery and puniſhment of Norfolk's conſpiracy, that they were glad to ſubmit to the king's authority, and accept of an indemnity for all paſt offences. The duke of Chatelrault and the earl of Huntley, with the moſt conſiderable of Mary's friends, laid down their arms on theſe conditions. The garriſon alone of the caſtle of Edinburgh continued refractory. Kirkaldy's fortunes were deſperate; and he flattered himſelf with the hopes of receiving aſſiſtance from the kings of France and Spain, who encouraged his obſtinacy, in the view of being able, from that quarter, to give diſturbance to England. Elizabeth was alarmed with the danger; ſhe no more apprehended making an entire breach with the queen of Scots, who, ſhe found, would not any longer be amuſed by her artifices; ſhe had an implicit reliance on Morton; and ſhe ſaw, that, by the ſubmiſſion of all the conſiderable nobility, the pacification of Scotland would be an eaſy, as well as a moſt important undertaking. She ordered, therefore, ſir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to march with ſome troops and artillery to Edinburgh, and to beſiege the caſtle. The garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion: Kirkaldy was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by whom he was tried, condemned and executed: Secretary Lidington, who had taken part with him, died ſoon after a voluntary death, as is ſuppoſed; and Scotland, ſubmitting entirely to the regent, gave not, during a long time, any farther inquietude to Elizabeth.

The events which happened in France were not so agreeable to the queen's interests and inclinations. The fallacious pacifications, which had been so often made with the hugonots, gave them reason to suspect the present intentions of the court; and, after all the other leaders of that party were deceived into a dangerous credulity, the sagacious admiral still remained doubtful and uncertain. But his suspicions were at last overcome, partly by the profound dissimulation of Charles, partly by his own earnest desire to end the miseries of France, and return again to the performance of his duty towards his prince and country. He considered besides, that as the former violent conduct of the court had ever met with such fatal success, it was not unlikely that a prince, who had newly come to years of discretion, and appeared not to be rivetted in any dangerous animosities or prejudices, would be induced to govern himself by more moderate maxims. And as Charles was young, was of a passionate, hasty temper, and addicted to pleasure, such deep perfidy seemed either remote from his character, or difficult, and almost impossible, to be so uniformly supported by him. Moved by these considerations, the admiral, the queen of Navarre, and all the hugonots, began to repose themselves in full security, and gave credit to the treacherous caresses and professions of the French court. Elizabeth herself, notwithstanding her great experience and penetration, entertained not the least distrust of Charles's sincerity; and being pleased to find her enemies of the house of Guise removed from all authority, and to observe an animosity every day growing between the French and Spanish monarchs, she concluded a defensive league with the former, and regarded this alliance as an invincible barrier to her throne. Walsingham, her ambassador, sent her over, by every courier, the most satisfactory accounts of the honour, and plain-dealing, and fidelity of that perfidious prince.

The better to blind the jealous hugonots, and draw their leaders into the snare prepared for them, Charles offered

offered his sister, Margaret, in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and the admiral, with all the considerable nobility of the party, had come to Paris in order to assist at the celebration of these nuptials, which, it was hoped, would finally, if not compose the differences, at least appease the bloody animosity of the two religions. The queen of Navarre was poisoned by orders from the court; the admiral was dangerously wounded by an assassin: Yet Charles, redoubling his dissimulation, was still able to retain the hugonots in their security; till, on the evening of St. Bartholomew, a few days after the marriage, the signal was given for a general massacre of those religionists, and the king himself, in person, led the way to these assassinations. The hatred long entertained by the partisans against the protestants, made them second, without any preparation, the fury of the court; and persons of every condition, age and sex, suspected of any propensity to that religion, were involved in an undistinguished ruin. The admiral, his son-in-law Teligni, Soubize, Rochefoucault, Pardaillon, Piles, Lavardin, men who, during the late wars, had signalized themselves by the most heroic actions, were miserably butchered, without resistance; the streets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged than satiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had saved the victims from farther insult, exercised on their dead bodies all the rage of the most licentious brutality. About five hundred gentlemen and men of rank perished in this massacre, and near ten thousand of inferior condition. Orders were instantly dispatched to all the provinces for a like general execution of the protestants; and in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. Even the murder of the king of Navarre, and prince of Condé, had been proposed by the duke of Guise; but Charles, softened by the amiable manners of the king of Navarre, and hoping that these young princes might easily be converted to the catholic faith, determined to spare their lives, though he obliged them to

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purchase their safety by a seeming change of their religion.

Charles, in order to cover this barbarous perfidy, pretended that a conspiracy of the hugonots to seize his person had been suddenly detected; and that he had been necessitated, for his own defence, to proceed to this severity against them. He sent orders to Fenelon, his ambassador in England, to ask an audience, and to give Elizabeth this account of the late transaction. That minister, a man of probity, abhorred the treachery and cruelty of his court; and even scrupled not to declare, that he was now ashamed to bear the name of Frenchman; yet he was obliged to obey his orders, and make use of the apology which had been prescribed to him. He met with that reception from all the courtiers, which, he knew, the conduct of his master had so well merited. Nothing could be more awful and affecting than the solemnity of his audience. A melancholy sorrow sat on every face: Silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment: The courtiers and ladies, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side, and allowed him to pass, without affording him one salute or favourable look; till he was admitted to the queen herself. That princess received him with a more easy, if not a more gracious countenance; and heard his apology, without discovering any visible symptoms of indignation. She then told him, that though, on the first rumour of this dreadful intelligence, she had been astonished that so many brave men and loyal subjects, who rested secure on the faith of their sovereign, should have been suddenly butchered in so barbarous a manner; she had hitherto suspended her judgment, till farther and more certain information should be brought her: That the account which he had given, even if founded on no mistake or bad information, though it might alleviate, would by no means remove the blame of the king's counsellors, or justify the strange irregularity of their proceedings: That the same force which, without resistance, had massacred so many defenceless men, could easily have secured their

persons

perſons, and have reſerved them for a trial, and for puniſhment by a legal ſentence, which would have diſtinguiſhed the innocent from the guilty: That the admiral, in particular, being dangerouſly wounded, and environed by the guards of the king, on whoſe protection he ſeemed entirely to rely, had no means of eſcape, and might ſurely, before his death, have been convicted of the crimes imputed to him: That it was more worthy of a ſovereign to reſerve in his own hands the ſword of juſtice, than to commit it to bloody murderers, who, being the declared and mortal enemies of the perſons accuſed, employed it without mercy and without diſtinction: That if theſe ſentiments were juſt, even ſuppoſing the conſpiracy of the proteſtants to be real, how much more ſo, if that crime was a calumny of their enemies, invented for their deſtruction? That if, upon enquiry, the innocence of theſe unhappy victims ſhould afterwards appear, it was the king's duty to turn his vengeance on their defamers, who had thus cruelly abuſed his confidence, had murdered ſo many of his brave ſubjects, and had done what in them lay to cover him with everlaſting diſhonour: And that, for her part, ſhe ſhould form her judgment of his intentions by his ſubſequent conduct; and in the mean time ſhould act as deſired by the ambaſſador, and rather pity than blame his maſter for the extremities to which he had been carried.

Elizabeth was fully ſenſible of the dangerous ſituation in which ſhe now ſtood. In the maſſacre of Paris, ſhe ſaw the reſult of that general conſpiracy, formed for the extermination of the proteſtants; and ſhe knew that ſhe herſelf, as the head and protectreſs of the new religion, was expoſed to the utmoſt fury and reſentment of the catholics. The violence and cruelty of the Spaniards in the Low Countries was another branch of the ſame conſpiracy; and as Charles and Philip, two princes nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity, as well as in bigotry, had now laid aſide their pretended quarrel, and had avowed the moſt entire friendſhip, ſhe had reaſon, as ſoon as they had appeaſed their domeſtic commotions,

motions, to dread the effects of their united counsels. The duke of Guise also, and his family, whom Charles, in order to deceive the admiral, had hitherto kept at a distance, had now acquired an open and entire ascendancy in the court of France; and she was sensible that these princes, from personal as well as political reasons, were her declared and implacable enemies. The queen of Scots, their near relation and close confederate, was the pretender to her throne; and, though detained in custody, was actuated by a restless spirit, and besides her foreign allies, possessed numerous and zealous partisans in the heart of the kingdom. For these reasons, Elizabeth thought it more prudent not to reject all commerce with the French monarch, but still to listen to the professions of friendship which he made her. She allowed even the negotiations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother: Those with the duke of Anjou had already been broken off. She sent the earl of Worcester to assist in her name at the baptism of a young princess, born to Charles; but before she agreed to give him this last mark of condescension, she thought it becoming her dignity, to renew her expressions of blame, and even of detestation, against the cruelties exercised on his protestant subjects. Meanwhile, she prepared herself for that attack which seemed to threaten her from the combined power and violence of the Romanists: She fortified Portsmouth, put her fleet in order, exercised her militia, cultivated popularity with her subjects, acted with vigour for the farther reduction of Scotland under obedience to the young king, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no less alarmed than herself at these treacherous and sanguinary measures, so universally embraced by the catholics.

1573. But though Elizabeth cautiously avoided coming to extremities with Charles, the greatest security that she possessed against his violence was derived from the difficulties which the obstinate resistance of the hugonots still created to him. Such of that sect as lived near

near the frontiers, immediately, on the first news of the massacres, fled into England, Germany, or Switzerland; where they excited the compassion and indignation of the protestants, and prepared themselves, with encreased forces, and redoubled zeal, to return into France, and avenge the treacherous slaughter of their brethren. Those who lived in the middle of the kingdom, took shelter in the nearest garrisons occupied by the hugonots; and finding, that they could repose no faith in capitulations, and expect no clemency, were determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. The sect, which Charles had hoped at one blow to exterminate, had now an army of eighteen thousand men on foot, and possessed, in different parts of the kingdom, above a hundred cities, castles, or fortresses; nor could that prince deem himself secure from the invasion threatened him by all the other protestants in Europe. The nobility and gentry of England were roused to such a pitch of resentment, that they offered to levy an army of twenty two thousand foot and four thousand horse, to transport them into France, and to maintain them six months at their own charge: But Elizabeth, who was cautious in her measures, and who feared to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions by these dangerous crusades, refused her consent, and moderated the zeal of her subjects. The German princes, less political or more secure from the resentment of France, forwarded the levies made by the protestants; and the young prince of Condé, having escaped from court, put himself at the head of these troops, and prepared to invade the kingdom. The duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, the family of Montmorenci, and many considerable men even among the catholics, displeased, either on a private or public account with the measures of the court, favoured the progress of the hugonots; and every thing relapsed into confusion.

1574. The king, instead of repenting his violent counsels, which had brought matters to such extremities, called aloud for new violences; nor could even the mortal

mortal distemper under which he laboured, moderate the rage and animosity by which he was actuated. He died without male issue, at the age of twenty five years; a prince whose character containing that unusual mixture of dissimulation and ferocity, of quick resentment and unrelenting vengeance, executed the greatest mischiefs, and threatened worse, both to his native country and all Europe.

Henry, duke of Anjou, who had, some time before, been elected king of Poland, no sooner heard of his brother's death, than he hastened to take possession of the throne of France; and found the kingdom not only involved in the greatest present disorders, but exposed to infirmities, for which it was extremely difficult to provide any suitable remedy. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or suffered; and as all faith had been violated and moderation banished, it seemed impracticable to find any terms of composition between them. Each party had devoted itself to leaders, whose commands had more authority than the will of the sovereign; and even the catholics, to whom the king was attached, were entirely conducted by the counsels of Guise and his family. The religious connections had, on both sides, superseded the civil, or rather (for men will always be guided by present interest), two empires being secretly formed in the kingdom, every individual was engaged by new views of interest to follow those leaders, to whom, during the course of past convulsions, he had been indebted for his honours and preferment.

Henry, observing the low condition of the crown, had laid a scheme for restoring his own authority, by acting as umpire between the parties, by moderating their differences, and by reducing both to a dependence upon himself. He possessed all the talents of dissimulation requisite for the execution of this delicate plan; but being deficient in vigour, application, and sound judgment, instead of acquiring a superiority over both factions, he lost the confidence of both, and taught the

parties

partiſans of each to adhere ſtill more cloſely to their particular leaders, whom they found more cordial and ſincere in the cauſe which they eſpouſed.

1576. The hugonots were ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of a German army under the prince of Condé and prince Caſimir; but much more by the credit and perſonal virtues of the king of Navarre, who, having fled from court, had placed himſelf at the head of that formidable party. Henry, in the proſecution of his plan, entered into a compoſition with them; and being deſirous of preſerving a balance between the ſects, he granted them peace on the moſt advantageous conditions. This was the fifth general peace made with the hugonots; but though it was no more ſincere on the part of the court than any of the former, it gave the higheſt diſguſt to the catholics; and afforded the duke of Guiſe the deſired pretence of declaiming againſt the meaſures, and maxims, and conduct of the king.

That artful and bold leader took thence an occaſion of reducing his party into a more formed and regular body; and he laid the firſt foundations of the famous LEAGUE, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire ſuppreſſion of the hugonots. Such was the unhappy condition of France, from the paſt ſeverities and violent conduct of its princes, that toleration could no longer be admitted; and a conceſſion for liberty of conſcience, which would probably have appeaſed the reformers, excited the greateſt reſentment in the catholics.

1577. Henry, in order to divert the force of the league from himſelf, and even to elude its efforts againſt the hugonots, declared himſelf the head of that ſeditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Romaniſts. But his dilatory and feeble meaſures betrayed his reluctance to the undertaking; and, after ſome unſucceſsful attempts, he concluded a new peace, which, though leſs favourable than the former to the proteſtants, gave no contentment to the catholics. Mutual diffidence ſtill prevailed between the parties; the king's

moderation was suspicious to both; each faction continued to fortify itself against that breach, which, they foresaw, must speedily ensue; theological controversy daily whetted the animosity of the sects; and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel.

1578. The king, hoping by his artifice and subtlety to allure the nation into a love of pleasure and repose, was himself caught in the snare; and, sinking into a dissolute indolence, wholly lost the esteem, and, in a great measure, the affections of his people. Instead of advancing such men of character and abilities as were neuters between these dangerous factions, he gave all his confidence to young agreeable favourites, who, unable to prop his falling authority, leaned entirely upon it, and inflamed the general odium against his administration. The public burdens, encreased by his profuse liberality, and felt more heavy on a disordered kingdom, became another ground of complaint; and the uncontrolled animosity of parties, joined to the multiplicity of taxes, rendered peace more calamitous than any open state of foreign or even domestic hostility. The artifices of the king were too refined to succeed, and too frequent to be concealed: and the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guise on one side, and that of the king of Navarre on the other, drew by degrees the generality of the nation to devote themselves without reserve to one or the other of those great leaders.

1579. The civil commotions of France were of too general importance to be overlooked by the other princes of Europe; and Elizabeth's foresight and vigilance, though somewhat restrained by her frugality, led her to take secretly some part in them. Besides employing on all occasions her good offices in favour of the hugonots, she had expended no inconsiderable sums in levying that army of Germans which the prince of Condé and prince Casimir conducted into France; and, notwithstanding her negotiations with the court, and her professions of amity, she always considered her own interest as connected

nected with the prosperity of the French protestants and the depression of the house of Guise. Philip, on the other hand, had declared himself protector of the league, had entered in the closest correspondence with Guise; and had employed all his authority in supporting the credit of that factious leader. The sympathy of religion, which of itself begat a connection of interests, was one considerable inducement; but that monarch had also in view, the subduing of his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands; who, as they received great encouragement from the French protestants, would, he hoped, finally despair of success, after the entire suppression of their friends and confederates.

The same political views which engaged Elizabeth to support the hugonots, would have led her to assist the distressed protestants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip, the tranquillity of all his other dominions, and the great force which he maintained in these mutinous provinces, kept her in awe, and obliged her, notwithstanding all temptations and all provocations, to preserve some terms of amity with that monarch. The Spanish ambassador represented to her, that many of the Flemish exiles, who infested the seas, and preyed on his master's subjects, were received into the harbours of England, and were there allowed to dispose of their prizes; and by these remonstrances the queen found herself under a necessity of denying them all entrance into her dominions. But this measure proved in the issue extremely prejudicial to the interests of Philip. These desperate exiles, finding no longer any possibility of subsistence, were forced to attempt the most perilous enterprises; and they made an assault on the Brille, a seaport town in Holland, where they met with success, and after a short resistance, became masters of the place. The duke of Alva was alarmed at the danger; and stopping those bloody executions which he was making on the defenceless Flemings, he hastened with his army to extinguish the flame, which, falling on materials so well prepared for com-

buſtion, ſeemed to menace a general conflagration. His fears ſoon appeared to be well-grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, enraged by that complication of cruelty, oppreſſion, inſolence, uſurpation, and perſecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms; and in a few days almoſt the whole province of Holland and that of Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and had openly declared againſt the tyranny of Alva. This event happened in the year 1572.

William, prince of Orange, deſcended from a ſovereign family of great luſtre and antiquity in Germany, inheriting the poſſeſſions of a ſovereign family in France, had fixed his reſidence in the Low Countries; and on account of his noble birth and immenſe riches, as well as of his perſonal merit, was univerſally regarded as the greateſt ſubject that lived in thoſe provinces. He had oppoſed, by all regular and dutiful means, the progreſs of the Spaniſh uſurpations; and when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands, and aſſumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man, and the tyrannical ſpirit of the court of Madrid, wiſely fled from the danger which threatened him, and retired to his paternal eſtate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in his abſence, was declared a rebel, and his ample poſſeſſions in the Low Countries were confiſcated. In revenge, he had levied an army of proteſtants in the empire, and had made ſome attempts to reſtore the Flemings to liberty; but was ſtill repulſed with loſs by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva, and by the great bravery, as well as diſcipline, of thoſe veteran Spaniards who ſerved under that general.

The revolt of Holland and Zealand, provinces which the prince of Orange had formerly commanded, and where he was much beloved, called him anew from his retreat; and he added conduct, no leſs than ſpirit, to that obſtinate reſiſtance which was here made to the Spaniſh dominion. By uniting the revolted cities in a league,

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he laid the foundation of that illuſtrious commonwealth, the offspring of induſtry and liberty, whoſe arms and policy have long made ſo ſignal a figure in every tranſaction of Europe. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, reſentment, or love of freedom could inſpire. Though the preſent greatneſs of the Spaniſh monarchy might deprive them of all courage, he ſtill flattered them with the concurrence of the other provinces, and with aſſiſtance from neighbouring ſtates: and he exhorted them, in defence of their religion, their liberties, and their lives, to endure the utmoſt extremities of war. From this ſpirit proceeded the deſperate defence of Haerlem; a defence which nothing but the moſt conſuming famine could overcome, and which the Spaniards revenged by the execution of more than two thouſand of the inhabitants. This extreme ſeverity, inſtead of ſtriking terror into the Hollanders, animated them by deſpair; and the vigorous reſiſtance made at Alcmaer, where Alva was finally repulſed, ſhewed them that their inſolent enemies were not invincible. The duke, finding at laſt the pernicious effects of his violent councils, ſolicited to be recalled: Medinaceli, who was appointed his ſucceſſor, refuſed to accept the government: Requeſens, commendator of Caſtile, was ſent from Italy to replace Alva; and this tyrant departed from the Netherlands in 1574; leaving his name in execration to the inhabitants, and boaſting in his turn, that, during the courſe of five years, he had delivered above eighteen thouſand of theſe rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner.

Requeſens, though a man of milder diſpoſitions, could not appeaſe the violent hatred which the revolted Hollanders had conceived againſt the Spaniſh government; and the war continued as obſtinate as ever. In the ſiege of Leyden, undertaken by the Spaniards, the Dutch opened the dykes and ſluices, in order to drive them from the enterprize; and the very peaſants were active in ruining their fields by an inundation, rather than fall again under the hated tyranny of Spain. But notwith-

ſtanding this repulſe, the governor ſtill purſued the war, and the conteſt ſeemed too unequal between ſo mighty a monarchy, and two ſmall provinces, however fortified by nature, and however defended by the deſperate reſolution of the inhabitants. The prince of Orange, therefore, in 1575, was reſolved to ſue for foreign ſuccour, and to make application to one or other of his great neighbours, Henry or Elizabeth. The court of France was not exempt from the ſame ſpirit of tyranny and perſecution which prevailed among the Spaniards; and that kingdom, torn by domeſtic diſſentions, ſeemed not to enjoy, at preſent, either leiſure or ability to pay regard to foreign intereſts. But England, long connected, both by commerce and alliance, with the Netherlands, and now more concerned in the fate of the revolted provinces by ſympathy in religion, ſeemed naturally intereſted in their defence; and as Elizabeth had juſtly entertained great jealouſy of Philip, and governed her kingdom in perfect tranquillity; hopes were entertained, that her policy, her ambition, or her generoſity, would engage her to ſupport them under their preſent calamities. They ſent, therefore a ſolemn embaſſy to London, conſiſting of St. Aldegonde, Douza, Nivelle, Buys, and Meiſen; and after employing the moſt humble ſupplications to the queen, they offered her the poſſeſſion and ſovereignty of their provinces, if ſhe would exert her power in their defence.

There were many ſtrong motives which might impel Elizabeth to accept of ſo liberal an offer. She was apprized of the injuries which Philip had done her, by his intrigues with the malcontents in England and Ireland: ſhe foreſaw the danger which ſhe muſt incur from a total prevalence of the catholics in the Low Countries: and the maritime ſituation of thoſe provinces, as well as their command over the great rivers, was an inviting circumſtance to a nation like the Engliſh, who were beginning to cultivate commerce and naval power. But this princeſs, though magnanimous, had never entertained the ambition of making conqueſts, or gaining new acquiſitions;

quisitions; and the whole purpose of her vigilant and active politics, was to maintain, by the most frugal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her own dominions. An open war with the Spanish monarchy was the apparent consequence of her accepting the dominion of these provinces; and, after taking the inhabitants under her protection, she could never afterwards, in honour abandon them, but, however desperate their defence might become, she must embrace it, even farther than her convenience or interests would permit. For these reasons she refused, in positive terms, the sovereignty proffered her; but told the ambassadors, that, in return for the good will which the prince of Orange and the States had shewn her, she would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the most reasonable terms that could be obtained. She sent, accordingly sir Henry Cobham to Philip, and represented to him the danger which he would incur of losing entirely the Low Countries, if France could obtain the least interval from her intestine disorders, and find leisure to offer her protection to those mutinous and discontented provinces. Philip seemed to take this remonstrance in good part; but no accord ensued, and war in the Netherlands continued with the same rage and violence as before.

It was an accident that delivered the Hollanders from their present desperate situation. Requesens, the governor, dying suddenly, the Spanish troops, discontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper authority to command them, broke into a furious mutiny, and threw every thing into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maestricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants: They threatened the other cities with a like fate: And all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the prince of Orange and the Hollanders, as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement: and the removal of foreign

reign troops, with the reſtoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually ſtipulated to purſue. Don John of Auſtria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, found on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the States had ſo fortified themſelves, and that the Spaniſh troops were ſo divided by their ſituation, that there was no poſſibility of reſiſtance: and he agreed to the terms required of him. The Spaniards evacuated the country; and theſe provinces ſeemed at laſt to breathe a little from their calamities.

But it was not eaſy to ſettle entire peace, while the thirſt of revenge and dominion governed the king of Spain, and while the Flemings were ſo ſtrongly agitated with reſentment of paſt, and fear of future, injuries, The ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for his military talents, engaged him rather to inflame than appeaſe the quarrel; and as he found the ſtates determined to impoſe very ſtrict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles, ſeized Namur, and procured the recal of the Spaniſh army from Italy. This prince, endowed with a lofty genius, and elated by the proſperous ſucceſſes of his youth, had opened his mind to vaſt undertakings; and, looking much beyond the conqueſt of the revolted provinces, had projected to eſpouſe the queen of Scots, and to acquire in her right the dominion of the Britiſh kingdoms. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions; and ſeeing now, from the union of all the provinces, a fair proſpect of their making a long and vigorous defence againſt Spain, ſhe no longer ſcrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties, which ſeemed ſo intimately connected with her own ſafety. After ſending them a ſum of money, about twenty thouſand pounds, for the immediate pay of their troops, ſhe concluded a treaty with them; in which ſhe ſtipulated to aſſiſt them with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, at the charge of the Flemings; and to lend them a hundred thouſand pounds, on receiving the bonds of ſome of the moſt conſiderable towns of the Netherlands,

therlands, for her repayment within the year. It was farther agreed, that the commander of the Engliſh army ſhould be admitted into the council of the States; and nothing be determined concerning war or peace, without previouſly informing the queen or him of it; that they ſhould enter into no league without her conſent; that if any diſcord aroſe among themſelves, it ſhould be referred to her arbitration: and that, if any prince, on any pretext, ſhould attempt hoſtilities againſt her, they ſhould ſend to her aſſiſtance an army equal to that which ſhe had employed in their defence. This alliance was ſigned on the 7th of January 1578.

One conſiderable inducement to the queen for entering into treaty with the States, was to prevent their throwing themſelves into the arms of France; and ſhe was deſirous to make the king of Spain believe that it was her ſole motive. She repreſented to him, by her ambaſſador, Thomas Wilkes, that hitherto ſhe had religiouſly acted the part of a good neighbour and ally; had refuſed the ſovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had adviſed the prince of Orange to ſubmit to the king; and had even accompanied her counſel with menaces, in caſe of his refuſal. She perſevered, ſhe ſaid, in the ſame friendly intentions; and, as a proof of it, would venture to interpoſe with her advice for the compoſure of the preſent differences: Let Don John, whom ſhe could not but regard as her mortal enemy, be recalled; let ſome other prince more popular be ſubſtituted in his room; let the Spaniſh armies be withdrawn; let the Flemings be reſtored to their ancient liberties and privileges: And if, after theſe conceſſions, they were ſtill obſtinate not to return to their duty, ſhe promiſed to join her arms with thoſe of the king of Spain, and force them to compliance. Philip diſſembled his reſentment againſt the queen; and ſtill continued to ſupply Don John with money and troops. That prince, though once repulſed at Rimenant by the valour of the Engliſh under Norris, and though oppoſed, as well by the army of the States as by prince

prince Caſimir, who had conducted to the Low Countries a great body of Germans, paid by the queen, gained a great advantage over the Flemings at Gembloux; but was cut off in the midſt of his proſperity by poiſon, given him ſecretly, as was ſuſpected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded his ambition. The prince of Parma ſucceeded to the command; who, uniting valour and clemency, negotiation and military exploits, made great progreſs againſt the revolted Flemings, and advanced the progreſs of the Spaniards by his arts, as well as by his arms.

During theſe years, while Europe was almoſt everywhere in great commotion, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity; owing, chiefly to the prudence and vigour of the queen's adminiſtration, and to the wiſe precautions which ſhe employed in all her meaſures. By ſupporting the zealous proteſtants in Scotland, ſhe had twice given them the ſuperiority over their antagoniſts, had cloſely connected their intereſts with her own, and had procured herſelf entire ſecurity from that quarter, whence the moſt dangerous invaſions could be made upon her. She ſaw in France her enemies, the Guiſes, though extremely powerful, yet counterbalanced by the hugonots, her zealous partiſans; and even hated by the king, who was jealous of their reſtleſs and exorbitant ambition. The bigotry of Philip gave her juſt ground of anxiety; but the ſame bigotry had happily excited the moſt obſtinate oppoſition among his own ſubjects, and had created him enemies, whom his arms and policy were not likely ſoon to ſubdue. The queen of Scots, her antagoniſt and rival, and the pretender to her throne, was a priſoner in her hands; and by her impatience and high ſpirit, had been engaged in practices, which afforded the queen a pretence for rendering her confinement more rigorous, and for cutting off her communication with her partiſans in England.

Religion was the capital point on which depended all the political tranſactions of that age; and the queen's conduct, in this particular, making allowance for the prevailing

prevailing prejudices of the times, could ſcarcely be accuſed of ſeverity or imprudence. She eſtabliſhed no inquiſition into men's boſoms: She impoſed no oath of ſupremacy, except on thoſe who received truſt or emolument from the public. And though the exerciſe of every religion but the eſtabliſhed was prohibited by ſtatute, the violation of this law, by ſaying maſs, and receiving the ſacrament in private houſes, was, in many inſtances, connived at; while, on the other hand, the catholics, in the beginning of her reign, ſhewed little reluctance againſt going to church, or frequenting the ordinary duties of public worſhip. The pope, ſenſible that this practice would, by degrees, reconcile all his partiſans to the reformed religion, haſtened the publication of the bull, which excommunicated the queen, and freed her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance; and great pains were taken by the emiſſaries of Rome, to render the breach between the two religions as wide as poſſible, and to make the frequenting of proteſtant churches appear highly criminal in the catholics. Theſe practices, with the rebellion which enſued, encreaſed the vigilance and ſeverity of the government; but the Romaniſts, if their condition was compared with that of the Nonconformiſts in other countries, and with their own maxims where they domineered, could not juſtly complain of violence or perſecution.

The queen appeared rather more anxious to keep a ſtrict hand over the puritans; who, though their pretenſions were not ſo immediately dangerous to her authority, ſeemed to be actuated by a more unreaſonable obſtinacy, and to retain claims, of which, both in civil and eccleſiaſtical matters, it was, as yet, difficult to diſcern the full ſcope and intention. Some ſecret attempts of that ſect to eſtabliſh a ſeparate congregation and diſcipline, had been carefully repreſſed in the beginning of this reign; and, when any of the eſtabliſhed clergy diſcovered a tendency to their principles, by omitting the legal habits or ceremonies, the queen had ſhewn a determined reſolution to puniſh them by fines and deprivation;

sion; though her orders to that purpose had been frequently eluded, by the secret protection which these sectaries received from some of her most considerable courtiers.

But what chiefly tended to gain Elizabeth the hearts of her subjects, was, her frugality, which, though carried sometimes to an extreme, led her not to amass treasures, but only to prevent impositions upon her people, who were at that time very little accustomed to bear the burthens of government. By means of her rigid œconomy, she paid all the debts which she found on the crown, with their full interest; though some of these debts had been contracted even during the reign of her father. Some loans which she had exacted at the commencement of her reign were repaid by her; a practice in that age somewhat unusual: And she established her credit on such a footing, that no sovereign in Europe could more readily command any sum, which the public exigencies might at any time require. During this peaceable and uniform government, England furnishes few materials for history; and, except the small part which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarcely passed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

The most memorable event in this period was a session of parliament, held on the 8th of February 1576; where debates were started, which may appear somewhat curious and singular. Peter Wentworth, a puritan, who had signalized himself in former parliaments by his free and undaunted spirit, opened this session with a premeditated harangue, which drew on him the indignation of the house, and gave great offence to the queen and the ministers. As it seems to contain a rude sketch of those principles of liberty which happily gained afterwards the ascendant in England, it may not be improper to give, in a few words, the substance of it. He premised, that the very name of liberty is sweet; but the thing itself is precious beyond the most inestimable treasure: And that it behoved them to be careful, lest, contenting themselves with the sweetness of

the name, they forego the ſubſtance, and abandon what of all earthly poſſeſſions was of the higheſt value to the kingdom. He then proceeded to obſerve, that freedom of ſpeech in that houſe, a privilege ſo uſeful both to ſovereign and ſubject, had been formerly infringed in many eſſential articles, and was at preſent expoſed to the moſt imminent danger: That it was uſual, when any ſubject of importance was handled, eſpecially if it regarded religion, to ſurmiſe, that theſe topics were diſagreeable to the queen, and that the farther proceeding in them would draw down her indignation upon their temerity: That Solomon had juſtly affirmed the king's diſpleaſure to be a meſſenger of death; and it was no wonder if men, even though urged by motives of conſcience and duty, ſhould be inclined to ſtop ſhort, when they found themſelves expoſed to ſo ſevere a penalty: That, by the employing of this argument, the houſe was incapacitated from ſerving their country, and even from ſerving the queen herſelf; whoſe ears, beſieged by pernicious flatterers, were thereby rendered inacceſſible to the moſt ſalutary truths: That it was a mockery to call an aſſembly a parliament, yet deny it that privilege, which was ſo eſſential to its being, and without which it muſt degenerate into an abject ſchool of ſervility and diſſimulation: That, as the parliament was the great guardian of the laws, they ought to have liberty to diſcharge their truſt, and to maintain that authority whence even kings themſelves derive their being: That the king was conſtituted ſuch by law, and though he was independent on man, yet was he ſubordinate to God and law, and was obliged to make their preſcription not his own will, the rule of his conduct: That his commiſſion, as God's vicegerent, enforced, not looſening, this obligation; ſince he was thereby veſted with authority to execute on earth the will of God, which is nothing but law and juſtice: That theſe ſurmiſes of diſpleaſing the queen by their proceedings, had impeached, in a very eſſential point the freedom of ſpeech, a privilege granted them by a

special law; yet was there a more express, and more dangerous invasion made on their liberties, by frequent messages from the throne: That it had become a practice, when the house was entering on any question, either ecclesiastical or civil, to bring an order from the queen, inhibiting them absolutely from treating of such matters, and debarring them from all farther discussion, of these momentous articles: That the prelates, emboldened by her royal protection, had assumed a decisive power in all questions of religion, and required that every one should implicity submit his faith to their arbitrary determinations: That the love which he bore his sovereign, forbade him to be silent under such abuses, or to sacrifice, on this important occasion, his duty to servile flattery and complaisance: And that as no earthly creature was exempt from fault, so neither was the queen herself; but, in imposing this servitude on her faithful commons, had committed a great and even dangerous fault against herself and the whole commonwealth.

It is easy to observe, from this speech, that, in this dawn of liberty, the parliamentary style was still crude and unformed; and that the proper decorum of attacking ministers and counsellors, without interesting the honour of the crown, or mentioning the person of the sovereign, was not yet entirely established. The commons expressed great displeasure at this unusual licence: They sequestered Wentworth from the house, and committed him prisoner to the serjeant at arms. They even ordered him to be examined by a committee, consisting of all those members who were also members of the privy-council; and a report to be next day made to the house. This committee met in the star-chamber, and, wearing the aspect of that arbitrary court, summoned Wentworth to appear before them, and answer for his behaviour. But though the commons had discovered so little delicacy or precaution, in thus confounding their own authority with that of the star chamber; Wentworth better understood the principles of liberty,

and

and refused to give these counsellors any account of his conduct in parliament, till he was satisfied that they acted, not as members of the privy-council, but as a committee of the house. He justified his liberty of speech, by pleading the rigour and hardship of the queen's messages; and, notwithstanding that the committee shewed him, by instances in other reigns, that the practice of sending such messages was not unprecedented, he would not agree to express any sorrow or repentance. The issue of the affair was, that, after a month's confinement, the queen sent to the commons, informing them, that, from her special grace and favour, she had restored him to his liberty, and to his place in the house. By this seeming lenity, she indirectly retained the power which she had assumed, of imprisoning the members, and obliging them to answer before her for their conduct in parliament. And sir Walter Mildmay endeavoured to make the house sensible of her majesty's goodness, in so gently remitting the indignation which she might justly conceive at the temerity of their member: But he informed them, that they had not the liberty of speaking what and of whom they pleased; and that indiscreet freedoms used in that house had, both in the present and foregoing ages, met with a proper chastisement. He warned them, therefore, not to abuse farther the queen's clemency; lest she be constrained, contrary to her inclination, to turn an unsuccessful lenity into a necessary severity.

The behaviour of the two houses was, in every other respect, equally tame and submissive. Instead of a bill, which was at first introduced, for the reformation of the church, they were contented to present a petition to her majesty for that purpose: And when she told them that she would give orders to her bishops to amend all abuses, and if they were negligent, she would herself, by her supreme power and authority over the church, give such redress as would entirely satisfy the nation; the parliament willingly acquiesced in this sovereign and peremptory decision.

Though the commons ſhewed ſo little ſpirit in oppoſing the authority of the crown, they maintained, this ſeſſion, their dignity againſt an encroachment of the peers, and would not agree to a conference, which, they thought, was demanded of them in an irregular manner. They acknowledged, however, with all humbleneſs (ſuch is their expreſſion,) the ſuperiority of the lords: They only refuſed to give that houſe any reaſon for their proceedings; and aſſerted, that, where they altered a bill ſent them by the peers, it belonged to them to deſire a conference, not to the upper houſe to require it.

The commons granted an aid of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths. Mildmay, in order to ſatisfy the houſe concerning the reaſonableneſs of this grant, entered into a detail of the queen's paſt expences in ſupporting the government, and of the encreaſing charges of the crown, from the daily encreaſe in the price of all commodities. He did not, however, forget to admoniſh them, that they were to regard this detail as the pure effect of the queen's condeſcenſion, ſince ſhe was not bound to give them any account how ſhe employed her treaſure.

CHAP. XLI.

Affairs of Scotland——Spaniſh affairs——Sir Francis Drake——A parliament——Negotiations of marriage with the duke of Anjou——Affairs of Scotland——Letter of queen Mary to Elizabeth——Conſpiracies in England——A parliament——The eccleſiaſtical commiſſion——Affairs of the Low Countries——Hoſtilities with Spain.

1580. THE greateſt and moſt abſolute ſecurity that Elizabeth enjoyed during her whole reign, never exempted her from vigilance and attention; but the ſcene began now to be more overcaſt, and dangers gradually multiplied on her from more than one quarter.

The earl of Morton had hitherto retained Scotland in

in ſtrict alliance with the queen, and had alſo reſtored domeſtic tranquillity to that kingdom: But it was not to be expected that the factitious and legal authority of a regent would long maintain itſelf in a country unacquainted with law and order; where even the natural dominion of hereditary princes ſo often met with oppoſition and control. The nobility began anew to break into factions: The people were diſguſted with ſome inſtances of Morton's avarice: And the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenue, joined and encreaſed the diſcontent of the other orders. The regent was ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation; and, having dropped ſome peeviſh expreſſions, as if he were willing or deſirous to reſign, the noblemen of the oppoſite party, favourites of the young king, laid hold of this conceſſion, and required that demiſſion which he ſeemed ſo frankly to offer them. James was at this time but eleven years of age; yet Morton, having ſecured himſelf, as he imagined, by a general pardon, reſigned his authority into the hands of the king, who pretended to conduct, in his own name, the adminiſtration of the kingdom. The regent retired from the government; and ſeemed to employ himſelf entirely in the care of his domeſtic affairs; but, either tired with this tranquillity, which appeared inſipid after the agitations of ambition, or thinking it time to throw off diſſimulation, he came again to court; acquired an aſcendant in the council: and though he reſumed not the title of regent, governed with the ſame authority as before. The oppoſite party, after holding ſeparate conventions, took to arms, on pretence of delivering their prince from captivity, and reſtoring him to the free exerciſe of his government: Queen Elizabeth interpoſed by her ambaſſador, ſir Robert Bowes, and mediated an agreement between the factions: Morton kept poſſeſſion of the government; but his enemies were numerous and vigilant, and his authority ſeemed to become every day more precarious.

The court d'Aubigny, of the houſe of Lenox, couſin

german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young man of good addreſs, and a ſweet diſpoſition, he appeared to the duke of Guiſe, a proper inſtrument for detaching James from the Engliſh intereſt, and connecting him with his mother and her relations. He no ſooner appeared at Stirling, where James reſided, than he acquired the affections of the young monarch; and joining his intereſts with thoſe of James Stuart of the houſe of Ochiltree, a man of profligate manners, who had acquired the king's favour, he employed himſelf, under the appearance of play and amuſement, in inſtilling into the tender mind of the prince new ſentiments of politics and government. He repreſented to him the injuſtice which had been done to Mary in her depoſition, and made him entertain thoughts either of reſigning the crown into her hands, or of aſſociating her with him in the adminiſtration. Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger which might enſue from the prevalence of this intereſt in Scotland, ſent anew ſir Robert Bowes to Stirling; and accuſing d'Aubigny, now created earl of Lenox, of an attachment to the French, warned James againſt entertaining ſuch ſuſpicious and dangerous connections. The king excuſed himſelf, by ſir Alexander Hume his ambaſſador; and Lenox, finding that the queen had openly declared againſt him, was farther confirmed in his intention of overturning the Engliſh intereſt, and particularly of ruining Morton, who was regarded as the head of it. That nobleman was arreſted in council, accuſed as an accomplice in the late king's murder, committed to priſon, brought to trial, and condemned to ſuffer as a traitor. He confeſſed that Bothwel had communicated to him the deſign, had pleaded Mary's conſent, and had deſired his concurrence; but he denied that he himſelf had ever expreſſed any approbation of the crime; and, in excuſe for his concealing it, he alledged the danger of revealing the ſecret, either to Henry, who had no reſolution nor conſtancy, or to Mary, who appeared to be an accomplice in the murder. Sir Thomas Randolph was ſent by

by the queen to intercede in favour of Morton; and that ambaſſador, not content with diſcharging this duty of his function, engaged, by his perſuaſion, the earls of Argyle, Montroſe, Angus, Marre, and Glencarne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the priſoner. The more to overawe that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth ordered forces to be aſſembled on the borders of England; but this expedient ſerved only to haſten his ſentence and execution. Morton died with that conſtancy and reſolution which had attended him through all the various events of his life; and left a reputation, which was leſs diſputed with regard to abilities than probity and virtue. But this concluſion of the ſcene happened not till the ſubſequent year.

Elizabeth was, during this period, extremely anxious on account of every revolution in Scotland; both becauſe that country alone, not being ſeparated from England by ſea, and bordering on all the catholic and malcontent counties, afforded her enemies a ſafe and eaſy method of attacking her; and becauſe ſhe was ſenſible that Mary, thinking herſelf abandoned by the French monarch, had been engaged by the Guiſes to have recourſe to the powerful protection of Philip, who, though he had not yet come to any open rupture with the queen, was every day, both by the injuries which he committed and ſuffered, more exaſperated againſt her. That he might retaliate the aſſiſtance which ſhe gave to his rebels in the Low Countries, he had ſent, under the name of the pope, a body of ſeven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always turbulent and diſcontented with the Engliſh government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and were ready to join every invader. The Spaniſh general, San Joſepho, built a fort in Kerry; and being there beſieged by the earl of Ormond, preſident of Munſter, who was ſoon after joined by lord Gray, the deputy, he made a weak and cowardly defence. After ſome aſſaults, feebly ſuſtained,

ſuſtained, he ſurrendered at diſcretion; and Gray, who commanded but a ſmall force, finding himſelf encumbered with ſo many priſoners, put all the Spaniards and Italians to the ſword without mercy, and hanged about fifteen hundred of the Iriſh: A cruelty which gave great diſpleaſure to Elizabeth.

When the Engliſh ambaſſador made complaints of this invaſion, he was anſwered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold ſeaman, who had aſſaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themſelves moſt ſecure, in the new world. This man ſprung from mean parents in the county of Devon, having acquired conſiderable riches by depredations made in the iſthmus of Panama, and having there gotten a ſight of the Pacific Ocean, was ſo ſtimulated by ambition and avarice, that he ſcrupled not to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure through thoſe ſeas, ſo much unknown at that time to all the European nations. By means of ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favourite of the queen, he obtained her conſent and approbation; and he ſet ſail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ſhips and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and ſixty-four able ſailors. He paſſed into the South Seas, by the Straights of Magellan, and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in thoſe quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehenſive of being intercepted by the enemy, if he took the ſame way homewards, by which he had reached the Pacific Ocean, he attempted to find a paſſage by the north of California; and failing in that enterpriſe, he ſet ſail for the Eaſt Indies, and returned ſafely this year by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the firſt Engliſhman who ſailed round the globe; and the firſt commander in chief: For Magellan, whoſe ſhip executed the ſame adventure, died in his paſſage. His name became celebrated on account of ſo bold and fortunate an attempt; but many, apprehending the reſentment of the Spaniards,

endeavoured

endeavoured to perſuade the queen, that it would be more prudent to diſavow the enterpriſe, to puniſh Drake, and to reſtore the treaſure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, and was allured by the proſpect of ſharing in the booty, determined to countenance that gallant ſailor: She conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ſhip which had atchieved ſo memorable a voyage. When Philip's ambaſſador, Mendoza, exclaimed againſt Drake's piracies, ſhe told him, that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole new world, and excluding thence all other European nations, who ſhould ſail thither, even with a view of exerciſing the moſt lawful commerce, naturally tempted others to make a violent irruption into thoſe countries. To pacify, however, the catholic monarch, ſhe cauſed part of the booty to be reſtored to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be agent for the merchants whom Drake had ſpoiled. Having learned afterwards, that Philip had ſeized the money, and had employed part of it againſt herſelf in Ireland, and part of it in the pay of the prince of Parma's troops, ſhe determined to make no more reſtitutions.

1581. There was another cauſe, which induced the queen to take this reſolution: She was in ſuch want of money, that ſhe was obliged to aſſemble a parliament, a meaſure, which, as ſhe herſelf openly declared, ſhe never embraced, except when conſtrained by the neceſſity of her affairs. The parliament, beſides granting her a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths, enacted ſome ſtatutes for the ſecurity of her government, chiefly againſt the attempts of the catholics. Whoever, in any way, reconciled any one to the church of Rome, or was himſelf reconciled, was declared to be guilty of treaſon; to ſay maſs was ſubjected to the penalty of a year's impriſonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the being preſent was puniſhable by a year's impriſonment and a fine of one hundred marks;

A fine

A fine of twenty pounds a-month was impoſed on every one who continued, during that time, abſent from church. To utter ſlanderous or ſeditious words againſt the queen, was puniſhable, for the firſt offence, with the pillory and loſs of ears; the ſecond offence was declared felony: The writing or printing of ſuch words was felony even on the firſt offence. The puritans prevailed ſo far as to have farther applications made for reformation in religion. And Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that name, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the preceding ſeſſion, moved, That the commons, from their own authority, ſhould appoint a general faſt and prayers: A motion, to which the houſe unwarily aſſented. For this preſumption, they were ſeverely reprimanded by a meſſage from the queen, as encroaching on the royal prerogative and ſupremacy; and they were obliged to ſubmit, and aſk forgiveneſs.

The queen and parliament were engaged to paſs theſe ſevere laws againſt the catholics, by ſome late diſcoveries of the treaſonable practices of their prieſts. When the ancient worſhip was ſuppreſſed, and the reformation introduced into the univerſities, the king of Spain reflected, that, as ſome ſpecies of literature was neceſſary for ſupporting theſe doctrines and controverſies, the Romiſh communion muſt decay in England, if no means were found to give erudition to the eccleſiaſtics; and for this reaſon, he founded a ſeminary at Douay, where the catholics ſent their children, chiefly ſuch as were intended for the prieſthood, in order to receive the rudiments of their education. The cardinal of Lorraine imitated this example, by erecting a like ſeminary in his dioceſe of Rheims; and though Rome was ſomewhat diſtant, the pope would not neglect to adorn, by a foundation of the ſame nature, that capital of orthodoxy. Theſe ſeminaries, founded with ſo hoſtile an intention, ſent over every year a colony of prieſts, who maintained the catholic ſuperſtition in its full

full height of bigotry; and being educated with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infused into all their votaries an extreme hatred against the queen; whom they treated as an usurper, a schismatic, a heretic, a persecutor of the orthodox, and one solemnly and publicly anathematised by the holy father. Sedition, rebellion, sometimes assassination, were the expedients by which they intended to effect their purposes against her; and the severe restraint, not to say persecution, under which the catholics laboured, made them the more willingly receive, from their ghostly fathers, such violent doctrines.

These seminaries were all of them under the direction of the Jesuits, a new order of regular priests erected in Europe, when the court of Rome perceived, that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who sufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, assailed on every side, and that the inquisitive spirit of the age required a society more active and more learned, to oppose its dangerous progress. These men, as they stood foremost in the contest against the protestants, drew on them the extreme animosity of that whole sect; and by assuming a superiority over the other more numerous and more ancient orders of their own communion, were even exposed to the envy of their brethren: So that it is no wonder, if the blame, to which their principles and conduct might be exposed, has, in many instances, been much exaggerated. This reproach, however, they must bear from posterity, that by the very nature of their institution, they were engaged to pervert learning, the only effectual remedy against superstition, into a nourishment of that infirmity; and as their erudition was chiefly of the ecclesiastical and scholastic kind (though a few members have cultivated polite literature) they were only the more enabled, by that acquisition, to refine away the

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plainest dictates of morality, and to erect a regular system of casuistry, by which prevarication, perjury, and every crime, when it served their ghostly purposes, might be justified and defended.

The Jesuits, as devoted servants to the court of Rome, exalted the prerogative of the sovereign pontiff above all earthly power; and, by maintaining his authority of deposing kings, set no bounds either to his spiritual or temporal jurisdiction. This doctrine became so prevalent among the zealous catholics in England, that the excommunication fulminated against Elizabeth excited many scruples of a singular kind, to which it behoved the holy father to provide a remedy. The bull of Pius, in absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance, commanded them to resist the queen's usurpation; and many Romanists were apprehensive, that, by this clause, they were obliged in conscience, even though no favourable opportunity offered, to rebel against her, and that no dangers or difficulties could free them from this indispensable duty. But Parsons and Campion, two jesuits, were sent over with a mitigation and explanation of the doctrine; and they taught their disciples, that though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her partisans, it did not oblige the catholics to obedience, except when the sovereign pontiff should think proper, by a new summons, to require it. Campion was afterwards detected in treasonable practices; and being put to the rack, and confessing his guilt, he was publicly executed. His execution was ordered at the very time when the duke of Anjou was in England, and prosecuted, with the greatest appearance of success, his marriage with the queen; and this severity was probably intended to appease her protestant subjects, and to satisfy them, that whatever measures she might pursue, she never would depart from the principles of the reformation.

The duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his pretensions to Elizabeth; and

and that princeſs, though her ſuitor was near twenty-five years younger than herſelf, and had no knowledge of her perſon, but by pictures or deſcriptions, was ſtill pleaſed with the image, which his addreſſes afforded her, of love and tenderneſs. The duke, in order to forward his ſuit, beſides employing his brother's ambaſſador, ſent over Simier, an agent of his own; an artful man, of an agreeable converſation, who ſoon remarking the queen's humour, amuſed her with gay diſcourſe, and inſtead of ſerious political reaſonings, which, he found, only awakened her ambition, and hurt his maſter's intereſts, he introduced every moment all the topics of paſſion and of gallantry. The pleaſure which ſhe found in this man's company, ſoon produced a familiarity between them; and, amidſt the greateſt hurry of buſineſs, her moſt confidential miniſters had not ſuch ready acceſs to her, as had Simier, who, on pretence of negotiation, entertained her with accounts of the tender attachment borne her by the duke of Anjou. The earl of Leiceſter, who had never before been alarmed with any courtſhip payed her, and who always truſted, that her love of dominion would prevail over her inclination to marriage, began to apprehend, that ſhe was at laſt caught in her own ſnare, and that the artful encouragement which ſhe had given to this young ſuitor had unawares engaged her affections. To render Simier odious, he availed himſelf of the credulity of the times, and ſpread reports, that that miniſter had gained an aſcendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her conſtitution, but by incantations and love potions. Simier, in revenge, endeavoured to diſcredit Leiceſter with the queen; and he revealed to her a ſecret, which none of her courtiers dared to diſcloſe, that this nobleman was ſecretly, without her conſent, married to the widow of the earl of Eſſex; an action which the queen interpreted either to proceed from want of reſpect to her, or as a violation of their mutual attachment; and which ſo provoked her, that ſhe threatened to ſend him to the

Tower. The quarrel went ſo far between Leiceſter and the French agent, that the former was ſuſpected of having employed one Tudor, a bravo, to take away the life of his enemy; and the queen thought it neceſſary, by proclamation, to take Simier under her immediate protection. It happened, that, while Elizabeth was rowed in her barge on the Thames, attended by Simier, and ſome of her courtiers, a ſhot was fired which wounded one of the bargemen; but the queen finding, upon inquiry, that the piece had been diſcharged by accident, gave the perſon his liberty, without farther puniſhment. So far was ſhe from entertaining ſuſpicion againſt her people, that ſhe was often heard to ſay, "That ſhe would lend credit to nothing againſt them, "which parents would not believe of their own children.

The duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts ſent him of the queen's prepoſſeſſions in his favour, paid her ſecretly a viſit at Greenwich; and after ſome conference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed. It appeared that, though his figure was not advantageous, he had loſt no ground by being perſonally known to her; and ſoon after, ſhe commanded Burleigh, now treaſurer, Suſſex, Leiceſter, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and ſecretary Walſingham, to concert with the French ambaſſadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. Henry had ſent over on this occaſion a ſplendid embaſſy, conſiſting of Francis de Bourbon, prince dauphin, and many conſiderable noblemen; and as the queen had in a manner the power of preſcribing what terms ſhe pleaſed, the articles were ſoon ſettled with the Engliſh commiſſioners. It was agreed, that the marriage ſhould be celebrated within ſix weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue ſhould have the exerciſe of their religion: that after the marriage he ſhould bear the title of king, but the adminiſtration remain ſolely in the queen; that their children, male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the elder, in caſe of Henry's death without iſſue, ſhould be

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king of France, the younger of England; that if there be but one male, and he ſucceed to the crown of France, he ſhould be obliged to reſide in England eight months every two years; that the laws and cuſtoms of England ſhould be preſerved inviolate; and that no foreigner ſhould be promoted by the duke to any office in England.

Theſe articles, providing for the ſecurity of England, in caſe of its annexation to the crown of France, opened but a diſmal proſpect to the Engliſh; had not the age of Elizabeth, who was now in her forty-ninth year, contributed very much to allay their apprehenſions of this nature. The queen alſo, as a proof of her ſtill remaining uncertainty, added a clauſe, that ſhe was not bound to complete the marriage, till farther articles, which were not ſpecified, ſhould be agreed on between the parties, and till the king of France be certified of this agreement. Soon after, the queen ſent over Walſingham, as ambaſſador to France, in order to form cloſer connexions with Henry, and enter into a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the increaſing power and dangerous uſurpations of Spain. The French king, who had been extremely diſturbed with the unquiet ſpirit, the reſtleſs ambition, the enterpriſing, yet timid and inconſtant diſpoſition of Anjou, had already ſought to free the kingdom from his intrigues, by opening a ſcene for his activity in Flanders; and, having allowed him to embrace the protection of the States, had ſecretly ſupplied him with men and money for the undertaking. The proſpect of ſettling him in England was for a like reaſon very agreeable to that monarch; and he was deſirous to cultivate, by every expedient, the favourable ſentiments which Elizabeth ſeemed to entertain towards him. But this princeſs, though ſhe had gone farther in her amorous dalliance than could be juſtified or accounted for by any principles of policy, was not yet determined to carry matters to a final concluſion; and ſhe confined Walſingham in his inſtructions to negotiating conditions of a mutual alliance between France and England. Henry with reluctance ſubmitted to hold

conferences on that subject; but no sooner had Walsingham begun to settle the terms of alliance, than he was informed that the queen, foreseeing hostility with Spain to be the result of this confederacy, had declared that she would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage. The French court, pleased with this change of resolution, broke off the conferences concerning the league, and opened a negotiation for the marriage. But matters had not long proceeded in this train before the queen again declared for the league in preference to the marriage, and ordered Walsingham to renew the conferences for that purpose. Before he had leisure to bring this point to maturity, he was interrupted by a new change of resolution; not only the court of France, but Walsingham himself, Burleigh, and all the wisest ministers of Elizabeth, were in amazement, doubtful where this contest between inclination and reason, love and ambition, would terminate*.

In the course of this affair, Elizabeth felt another variety of intentions, from a new contest between her reason and her ruling passions. The duke of Anjou expected from her some money, by which he might be enabled to open the campaign in Flanders; and the queen herself, though her frugality made her long reluctant, was sensible that this supply was necessary; and she was at last induced, after much hesitation, to comply with his request. She sent him a present of a hundred thousand crowns; by which, joined to his own demesnes, and the assistance of his brother and the queen-

* That the queen's negotiations for marrying the duke of Anjou were not feigned or political, appears clearly from many circumstances; particularly from a passage in Dr. Forbes's manuscript collections, at present in the possession of lord Royston. She there enjoins Walsingham, before he opens the treaty, to examine the person of the duke; and as that prince had lately recovered from the small-pox, she desires her ambassador to consider, whether he yet retained so much of his good looks, as that a woman could fix her affections on him. Had she not been in earnest, and had she only meant to amuse the public, or the court of France, this circumstance was of no moment.

dowager,

dowager, he levied an army, and took the field against the prince of Parma. He was successful in raising the siege of Cambray; and being chosen by the States governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter quarters, and came over to England in order to prosecute his suit to the queen. The reception which he met with made him expect entire success, and gave him hopes that Elizabeth had surmounted all scruples, and was finally determined to make choice of him for her husband. In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her coronation, she was seen, after long and intimate discourse with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and to put it upon his; and all the spectators concluded, that in this ceremony she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. St. Aldegonde, ambassador from the States, dispatched immediately a letter to his masters, informing them of this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who as well as the other Flemings regarded the queen as a kind of tutelar divinity, testified their joy by bonfires and the discharge of their great ordnance. A puritan of Lincoln's-Inn had written a passionate book, which he intitled, "The Gulph in which England will be "swallowed by the French Marriage." He was apprehended and prosecuted by order of the queen, and was condemned to lose his right hand as a libeller. Such was the constancy and loyalty of the man, that immediately after the sentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand, and waving it over his head, cried, "God save the queen!"

But, notwithstanding this attachment which Elizabeth so openly discovered to the duke of Anjou; the combat of her sentiments was not entirely over; and her ambition, as well as prudence, rousing itself by intervals, still filled her breast with doubt and hesitation. Almost all the courtiers whom she trusted and favoured, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, discovered an extreme aversion to the marriage; and the ladies of her

bed-chamber made no ſcruple of oppoſing her reſolution with the moſt zealous remonſtrances. Among other enemies to the match, ſir Philip, ſon of ſir Henry Sidney, deputy of Ireland, and nephew to Leiceſter, a young man the moſt accompliſhed of the age, declared himſelf: And he uſed the freedom to write her a letter, in which he diſſuaded her from her preſent reſolution, with an unuſual elegance of expreſſion, as well as force of reaſoning. He told her, that the ſecurity of her government depended entirely on the affections of her proteſtant ſubjects; and ſhe could not, by any meaſure, more effectually diſguſt them, than by eſpouſing a prince who was ſon of the perfidious Catherine, brother to the cruel and perfidious Charles, and who had himſelf imbrued his hands in the blood of the innocent and defenceleſs proteſtants: That the catholics were her mortal enemies, and believed either that ſhe had originally uſurped the crown, or was now lawfully depoſed by the pope's bull of excommunication; and nothing had ever ſo much elevated their hopes as the proſpect of her marriage with the duke of Anjou: That her chief ſecurity at preſent againſt the efforts of ſo numerous, rich, and united a faction, was, that they poſſeſſed no head who could conduct their dangerous enterpriſes; and ſhe herſelf was raſhly ſupplying that defect, by giving an intereſt in the kingdom, to a prince whoſe education had zealouſly attached him to that communion: That though he was a ſtranger to the blood royal of England, the diſpoſitions of men were now ſuch that they prefered the religious to the civil connexions; and were more influenced by ſympathy in theological opinions, than by the principles of legal and hereditary government: That the duke himſelf had diſcovered a very reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit; and having often violated his loyalty to his elder brother and his ſovereign, there remained no hopes that he would paſſively ſubmit to a woman whom he might, in quality of huſband, think himſelf entitled to command: That the French nation, ſo populous, ſo much abounding in ſoldiers, ſo

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full of nobility who were devoted to arms, and for some time accustomed to serve for plunder, would supply him with partisans dangerous to a people unwarlike and defenceless like the generality of her subjects: That the plain and honourable path which she had followed, of cultivating the affections of her people, had hitherto rendered her reign secure and happy; and however her enemies might seem to multiply upon her, the same invincible rampart was still able to protect and defend her: That so long as the throne of France was filled by Henry or his posterity, it was in vain to hope that the ties of blood would ensure the amity of that kingdom, preferably to the maxims of policy or the prejudices of religion; and if ever the crown devolved on the duke of Anjou, the conjunction of France and England would prove a burden rather than a protection to the latter kingdom: That the example of her sister Mary was sufficient to instruct her in the danger of such connexions; and to prove that the affection and confidence of the English could never be maintained where they had such reason to apprehend that their interests would every moment be sacrificed to those of a foreign and hostile nation: That notwithstanding these great inconveniences, discovered by past experience, the house of Burgundy, it must be confessed, was more popular in the nation than the family of France; and what was of chief moment, Philip was of the same communion with Mary, and was connected with her by this great band of interest and affection: And that however the queen might remain childless, even though old age should grow upon her, the singular felicity and glory of her reign would preserve her from contempt; the affections of her subjects, and those of all the protestants in Europe, would defend her from danger; and her own prudence, without other aid or assistance, would baffle all the efforts of her most malignant enemies.

1582. These reflections kept the queen in great anxiety and irresolution; and she was observed to pass several

veral nights without any sleep or repose. At last her settled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and having sent for the duke of Anjou, she had a long conference with him in private, where she was supposed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expressed great disgust on his leaving her; threw away the ring which she had given him; and uttered many curses on the mutability of women and of islanders. Soon after, he went over to his government of the Netherlands; lost the confidence of the States by a rash and violent attempt on their liberties; was expelled that country; retired into France; and there died. The queen, by timely reflection, saved herself from the numerous mischiefs which must have attended so imprudent a marriage: And the distracted state of the French monarchy prevented her from feeling any effects of that resentment which she had reason to dread from the affront so wantonly put upon that royal family.

The anxiety of the queen from the attempts of the English catholics, never ceased during the whole course of her reign; but the variety of revolutions which happened in all the neighbouring kingdoms, were the source, sometimes of her hopes, sometimes of her apprehensions. This year the affairs of Scotland strongly engaged her attention. The influence which the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, who now assumed the title of earl of Arran, had acquired over the young king, was but a slender foundation of authority; while the generality of the nobles, and all the preachers, were so much discontented with their administration. The assembly of the church appointed a solemn fast; of which one of the avowed reasons was the danger to which the king was exposed from the company of wicked persons: And, on that day the pulpits resounded with declamations against Lenox, Arran, and all the present counsellors. When the minds of the people were sufficiently prepared by these lectures, a conspiracy of the nobility was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth

beth, for seizing the person of James, at Ruthwen, a seat of the earl of Gowry's; and the design being kept secret, succeeded without any opposition. The leaders in this enterprise were, the earl of Gowry himself, the earl of Marre, the lords Lindesey and Boyd, the masters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dumfermline, Paisley and Cambuskenneth. The king wept when he found himself detained a prisoner; but the master of Glamis said, "No matter for his tears; better that boys weep "than bearded men:" An expression which James could never afterwards forgive. But, notwithstanding his resentment, he found it necessary to submit to the present necessity. He pretended an entire acquiescence in the conduct of the associators: acknowledged the detention of his person to be an acceptable service; and agreed to summon both an assembly of the church, and a convention of estates, in order to ratify that enterprise.

The assembly, though they had established it as an inviolable rule, that the king, on no account, and under no pretence, should ever intermeddle in ecclesiastical matters, made no scruple of taking civil affairs under their cognizance, and of deciding on this occasion, that the attempts of the conspirators was acceptable to all that feared God, or tendered the preservation of the king's person, and prosperous state of the realm. They even enjoined all the clergy to recommend these sentiments from the pulpit; and they threatened with ecclesiastical censures, every man who should oppose the authority of the confederated Lords. The convention being composed chiefly of these lords themselves, added their sanction to these proceedings. Arran was confined a prisoner in his own house: Lenox, though he had power to resist, yet, rather than raise a civil war, or be the cause of bloodshed, chose to retire into France, where he soon after died. He persevered to the last in the protestant religion, to which James had converted him, but which the Scottish clergy could never be persuaded that he had sincerely embraced. The king sent for his family, restored his son to his paternal honours

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and eſtate, took care to eſtabliſh the fortunes of all his other children; and to his laſt moments never forgot the early friendſhip which he had borne their father: A ſtrong proof of the good diſpoſitions of that prince.

No ſooner was this revolution known in England, than the queen ſent ſir Henry Cary and ſir Robert Bowes to James, in order to congratulate him on his deliverance from the pernicious counſels of Lenox and Arran; to exhort him not to reſent the ſeeming violence committed on him by the confederated lords; and to procure from him permiſſion for the return of the earl of Angus, who, ever ſince Morton's fall, had lived in England. They eaſily prevailed in procuring the recal of Angus; and as James ſuſpected that Elizabeth had not been entirely unacquainted with the project of his detention, he thought proper, before the Engliſh ambaſſadors, to diſſemble his reſentment againſt the authors of it.

1583. Soon after, La Mothe-Fenelon, and Menneville, appeared as ambaſſadors from France: Their errand was to enquire concerning the ſituation of the king, make profeſſions of their maſter's friendſhip, confirm the ancient league with France, and procure an accommodation between James and the queen of Scots. This laſt propoſal gave great umbrage to the clergy; and the aſſembly voted the ſettling of terms between the mother and ſon to be a moſt wicked undertaking. The pulpits reſounded with declamations againſt the French ambaſſadors; particularly Fenelon, whom they called the meſſenger of the bloody murderer, meaning the duke of Guiſe: And as that miniſter, being knight of the Holy Ghoſt, wore a white croſs on his ſhoulder, they commonly denominated it, in contempt, the badge of Antichriſt. The king endeavoured, though in vain, to repreſs theſe inſolent reflections; but in order to make the ambaſſadors ſome compenſation, he deſired the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to give them a ſplendid dinner before their departure. To prevent this entertainment

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the clergy appointed that very day for a public fast; and finding that their orders were not regarded, they employed their sermons in thundering curses on the magistrates, who, by the king's direction, had put this mark of respect on the ambassadors. They even pursued them afterwards with the censures of the church; and it was with difficulty they were prevented from issuing the sentence of excommunication against them, on account of their submission to royal, preferably to clerical authority.

What increased their alarm, with regard to an accomdation between James and Mary was, that the English ambassadors seemed to concur with the French in this proposal; and the clergy were so ignorant as to believe the sincerity of the professions made by the former. The queen of Scots had often made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected; but hearing of James's detention, she wrote a letter in a more pathetic and more spirited strain than usual; craving the assistance of that princess, both for her own and her son's liberty. She said, that the account of the prince's captivity had excited her most tender concern; and the experience which she herself, during so many years, had of the extreme infelicity attending that situation, had made her the more apprehensive lest a like fate should pursue her unhappy offspring: That the long train of injustice which she had undergone, the calumnies to which she had been exposed, were so grievous, that finding no place for right or truth among men, she was reduced to make her last appeal to Heaven, the only competent tribunal between princes of equal jurisdiction, degree and dignity: That after her rebellious subjects, secretly instigated by Elizabeth's ministers, had expelled her the throne, had confined her in prison, had pursued her with arms, she had voluntarily thrown herself under the protection of England; fatally allured by those reiterated professions of amity which had been made her, and by her confidence in the generosity of a friend, an ally, and a kinswoman: That, not content with excluding her from

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her presence, with supporting the usurpers of her throne, with contributing to the destruction of her faithful subjects, Elizabeth had reduced her to a worse captivity than that from which she had escaped, and had made her this cruel return for the unlimited confidence which she had reposed in her: That though her resentment of such severe usage had never carried her farther than to use some disappointed efforts for her deliverance, unhappy for herself, and fatal to others, she found the rigours of confinement daily multiplied upon her; and at length carried to such a height that it surpassed the bounds of all human patience any longer to endure them: That she was cut off from all communication, not only with the rest of mankind, but with her only son; and her maternal fondness, which was more enlivened by their unhappy sympathy in situation, and was her sole remaining attachment to this world, deprived even of that melancholy solace which letters or messages could give: That the bitterness of her sorrows, still more than her close confinement, had preyed upon her health, and had added the insufferable weight of bodily infirmity to all those other calamities under which she laboured: That while the daily experience of her maladies opened to her the comfortable prospect of an approaching deliverance into a region where pain and sorrow are no more, her enemies envied her that last consolation; and having secluded her from every joy on earth, had done what in them lay to debar her from all hopes in her future and eternal existence: That the exercise of her religion was refused her; the use of those sacred rites in which she had been educated; the commerce with those holy ministers whom Heaven had appointed to receive the acknowledgment of our transgressions, and to seal our penitence by a solemn re-admission into heavenly favour and forgiveness: That it was in vain to complain of the rigours of persecution exercised in other kingdoms, when a queen, and an innocent woman was excluded from an indulgence which never yet, in the most barbarous countries, had been denied to the meanest and most

obnoxious

obnoxious malefactor: That could she ever be induced to descend from that royal dignity in which Providence had placed her, or depart from her appeal to Heaven, there was only one other tribunal to which she would appeal from all her enemies; to the justice and humanity of Elizabeth's own breast, and to that lenity which, uninfluenced by malignant counsel, she would naturally be induced to exercise towards her: And that she finally entreated her to resume her natural disposition, and to reflect on the support, as well as comfort, which she might receive from her son and herself, if, joining the obligations of gratitude to the ties of blood, she would deign to raise them from their present melancholy situation, and reinstate them in that liberty and authority to which they were entitled.

Elizabeth was engaged to obstruct Mary's restoration, chiefly because she foresaw an unhappy alternative attending that event. If this princess recovered any considerable share of authority in Scotland, her resentment, ambition, zeal, and connexions, both domestic and foreign, might render her a dangerous neighbour to England, and enable her, after suppressing the protestant party among her subjects, to revive those pretensions which she had formerly advanced to the crown, and which her partisans in both kingdoms still supported with great industry and assurance. If she were reinstated in power with such strict limitations as could not be broken, she might be disgusted with her situation; and flying abroad, form more desperate attempts than any sovereign who had a crown to hazard would willingly undertake. Mary herself, sensible of these difficulties, and convinced by experience that Elizabeth would for ever debar her the throne, was now become more humble in her wishes; and as age and infirmities had repressed those sentiments of ambition by which she had formerly been so much actuated, she was willing to sacrifice all her hopes of grandeur in order to obtain a little liberty; a blessing to which she naturally aspired with the fondest impatience. She proposed therefore, that she should be associated with her

ſon in the title to the crown of Scotland, but that the adminiſtration ſhould remain ſolely in him: And ſhe was content to live in England in a private ſtation, and even under a kind of reſtraint; but with ſome more liberty, both for exerciſe and company, than ſhe had enjoyed ſince the firſt diſcovery of her intrigues with the duke of Norfolk. But Elizabeth, afraid leſt ſuch a looſe method of guarding her would facilitate her eſcape into France or Spain, or at leaſt would encourage and increaſe her partiſans, and enable her to conduct thoſe intrigues to which ſhe had already diſcovered ſo ſtrong a propenſity, was ſecretly determined to deny her requeſts; and though ſhe feigned to aſſent to them, ſhe well knew how to diſappoint the expectations of the unhappy princeſs. While Lenox maintained his authority in Scotland, ſhe never gave any reply to all the applications made to her by the Scottiſh queen: At preſent, when her own creatures had acquired poſſeſſion of the government, ſhe was reſolved to throw the odium of refuſal upon them; and pretending that nothing farther was required to a perfect accommodation than the concurrence of the council of ſtate in Scotland, ſhe ordered her ambaſſador, Bowes, to open the negotiation for Mary's liberty, and her aſſociation with her ſon in the title to the crown. Though ſhe ſeemed to make this conceſſion to Mary, ſhe refuſed her the liberty of ſending any ambaſſador of her own; and that princeſs could eaſily conjecture, from this circumſtance, what would be the reſult of the pretended negotiation. The privy council of Scotland, inſtigated by the clergy, rejected all treaty; and James, who was now a captive in their hands, affirmed that he had never agreed to an aſſociation with his mother, and that the matter had never gone farther than ſome looſe propoſals for that purpoſe.

The affairs of Scotland remained not long in the preſent ſituation. James, impatient of reſtraint, made his eſcape from his keepers; and, flying to St. Andrew's, ſummoned his friends and partiſans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marſhal, Montroſe, and Rothes, haſtened

haſtened to pay their duty to their ſovereign; and the oppoſite party found themſelves unable to reſiſt ſo powerful a combination. They were offered a pardon upon their ſubmiſſion, and an acknowledgement of their fault in ſeizing the king's perſon, and reſtraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted of the terms: The greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Marre, Glamis, left the country, and took ſhelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth. The earl of Arran was recalled to court; and the malcontents, who could not brook the authority of Lenox, a man of virtue and moderation, found, that by their reſiſtance they had thrown all power into the hands of a perſon whoſe counſels were as violent as his manners were profligate.

Elizabeth wrote a letter to James; in which ſhe quoted a moral ſentence from Iſocrates, and indirectly reproached him with inconſtancy, and a breach of his engagements. James in his reply, juſtified his meaſures; and retaliated by turning two paſſages of Iſocrates againſt *her*. She next ſent Walſingham in an embaſſy to him; and her chief purpoſe in employing that aged miniſter in an errand where ſo little buſineſs was to be tranſacted, was to learn from a man of ſo much penetration and experience, the real character of James. This young prince poſſeſſed good parts, though not accompanied with that vigour and induſtry which his ſtation required; and as he excelled in general diſcourſe and converſation, Walſingham entertained a higher idea of his talents than he was afterwards found, when real buſineſs was tranſacted, to have fully merited. The account which he gave his miſtreſs induced her to treat James thenceforth with ſome more regard than ſhe had hitherto been inclined to pay him.

1584. The kingof Scots perſevering in his preſent views, ſummoned a parliament; where it was enacted, that no clergymen ſhould preſume in his ſermons to utter falſe, untrue, or ſcandalous ſpeeches againſt the king, the council, or the public meaſures, or to meddle in an

improper manner with the affairs of his majesty and the states. The clergy, finding that the pulpit would be no longer a sanctuary for them, were extremely offended: They said that the king was become popish in his heart; and they gave their adversaries the epithets of gross libertines, belly-gods, and infamous persons. The violent conduct of Arran soon brought over the popularity to their side. The earl of Gowry, though pardoned for the late attempt, was committed to prison, was tried on some new accusations, condemned and executed. Many innocent persons suffered from the tyranny of this favourite; and the banished lords, being assisted by Elizabeth, now found the time favourable for the recovery of their estates and authority. After they had been foiled in one attempt upon Stirling, they prevailed in another; and being admitted to the king's presence, were pardoned and restored to his favour.

Arran was degraded from authority; deprived of that estate and title which he had usurped; and the whole country seemed to be composed to tranquillity. Elizabeth, after opposing, during some time, the credit of the favourite, had found it more expedient before his fall, to compound all differences with him by means of Davison, a minister whom she sent to Scotland: But having more confidence in the lords whom she had helped to restore, she was pleased with this alteration of affairs; and maintained a good correspondence with the new court and ministry of James.

These revolutions in Scotland would have been regarded as of small importance to the repose and security of Elizabeth, had her own subjects been entirely united, and had not the zeal of the catholics, excited by constraint, more properly than persecution, daily threatened her with some dangerous insurrection. The vigilance of the ministers, particularly of Burleigh and Walsingham, was raised in proportion to the activity of the malcontents; and many arts which had been blameable in a more peaceful government, were employed in detecting conspiracies, and even discovering the secret inclinations

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of men. Counterfeit letters were written in the name of the queen of Scots, or of the Engliſh exiles, and privately conveyed to the houſes of the catholics: Spies were hired to obſerve the actions and diſcourſe of ſuſpected perſons: Informers were countenanced: And though the ſagacity of theſe two great miniſters helped them to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe intelligence, many calumnies were, no doubt, hearkened to, and all the ſubjects, particularly the catholics, kept in the utmoſt anxiety and inquietude. Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded ſome years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, ſon of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under ſuſpicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own houſe. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman was committed to cuſtody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treaſonable deſigns, immediately withdrew beyond ſea. Throgmorton confeſſed that a plan for an invaſion and inſurrection had been laid; and though, on his trial, he was deſirous of retracting this confeſſion, and imputing it to the fear of torture, he was found guilty, and executed. Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, having promoted this conſpiracy, was ordered to depart the kingdom; and Wade was ſent into Spain, to excuſe his diſmiſſion, and to deſire the king to ſend another ambaſſador in his place: But Philip would not ſo much as admit the Engliſh ambaſſador to his preſence. Creighton, a Scotch Jeſuit, coming over on board a veſſel which was ſeized, tore ſome papers, with an intention of throwing them into the ſea; but the wind blowing them back upon the ſhip, they were pieced together, and diſcovered ſome dangerous ſecrets.

Many of theſe conſpiracies were, with great appearance of reaſon, imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots; and as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought that they could not uſe too many precautions againſt the danger of her claims, and the

restless activity of her temper. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who, though vigilant and faithful in that trust, had also been indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise: And she was committed to the custody of sir Amias Paulet and sir Drue Drury; men of honour, but inflexible in their care and attention. An association was also set on foot by the earl of Leicester and other courtiers; and as Elizabeth was beloved by the whole nation, except the more zealous catholics, men of all ranks willingly flocked to the subscription of it. The purport of this association was to defend the queen, to revenge her death, or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title soever they might possess, by whose suggestion or for whose behoof any violence should be offered to her majesty. The queen of Scots was sensible that this association was levelled against her; and to remove all suspicion from herself, she also desired leave to subscribe it.

Elizabeth, that she might the more discourage malcontents, by shewing them the concurrence of the nation in her favour, summoned a new parliament; and she met with that dutiful attachment which she expected. The association was confirmed by parliament; and a clause was added, by which the queen was empowered to name commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown who should attempt or imagine any invasion, insurrection, or assassination against her: Under condemnation, pronounced by these commissioners, the guilty person was excluded from all claim to the succession, and was farther punishable as her majesty should direct. And for greater security, a council of regency, in case of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to settle the succession, and to take vengeance for that act of treason.

A severe law was also enacted against jesuits and popish priests: It was ordained that they should depart the

the kingdom within forty days; that those who should remain beyond that time, or should afterwards return, should be guilty of treason; that those who harboured or relieved them should be guilty of felony; that those who were educated in seminaries, if they returned not in six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop or two justices, should be guilty of treason; and that if any, so submitting themselves, should, within ten years, approach the court, or come within ten miles of it, their submission should be void. By this law the exercise of the catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was in many instances connived at, was totally suppressed. In the subsequent part of the queen's reign, the law was sometimes executed by the capital punishment of priests; and though the partisans of that princess asserted that they were punished for their treason, not their religion, the apology must only be understood in this sense, that the law was enacted on account of the treasonable views and attempts of the sect, not that every individual who suffered the penalty of the law was convicted of treason*. The catholics, therefore, might now with justice complain of a violent persecution; which we may safely affirm, in spite of the rigid and bigoted maxims of that age, not to be the best method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the established government and religion.

The parliament, besides arming the queen with these powers, granted her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths. The only circumstance in which their proceedings were disagreeable to her, was an application made by the commons for a farther reformation in ecclesiastical matters. Yet even in this attempt, which affected her, as well as them, in a delicate point, they discovered how

* Some even of those who defend the queen's measures allow, that in ten years fifty priests were executed, and fifty-five banished. Camden, p. 649.

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much they were overawed by her authority. The majority of the house were puritans, or inclined to that sect; but the severe reprimands which they had already, in former sessions, met with from the throne, deterred them from introducing any bill concerning religion; a proceeding which would have been interpreted as an encroachment on the prerogative: They were content to proceed by way of humble petition, and that not addressed to her majesty, which would have given offence, but to the house of lords, or rather the bishops, who had a seat in that house, and from whom alone they were willing to receive all advances towards reformation: A strange departure from what we now apprehend to be the dignity of the commons.

The commons desired, in their humble petition, that no bishop should exercise his function of ordination but with the consent and concurrence of six presbyters: But this demand, as it really introduced a change of ecclesiastical government, was firmly rejected by the prelates. They desired that no clergyman should be instituted into any benefice, without previous notice being given to the parish, that they might examine whether there lay any objection to his life or doctrine: An attempt towards a popular model, which naturally met with the same fate. In another article of the petition, they prayed that the bishops should not insist upon every ceremony, or deprive incumbents for omitting part of the service: As if uniformity in public worship had not been established by law; or as if the prelates had been endowed with a dispensing power. They complained

* Besides the petition after mentioned, another proof of the prevalency of the puritans among the commons was their passing a bill for the reverent observance of Sunday, which they termed the Sabbath, and the depriving the people of those amusements which they were accustomed to take on that day. D'Ewes, p. 335. It was a strong symptom of a contrary spirit in the upper house, that they proposed to add Wednesday to the fast days, and to prohibit entirely the eating of flesh on that day. D'Ewes, p. 373. of

of abuſes which prevailed in pronouncing the ſentence of excommunication, and they entreated the reverend fathers to think of ſome law for the remedy of theſe abuſes: Implying, that thoſe matters were too high for the commons of themſelves to attempt.

But the moſt material article which the commons touched upon in their petition, was the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a ſubject of ſuch importance as to merit ſome explanation.

The firſt primate after the queen's acceſſion was Parker; a man rigid in exacting conformity to the eſtabliſhed worſhip, and in puniſhing, by fine or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen, who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church. He died in 1575; and was ſucceeded by Grindal, who, as he himſelf was inclined to the new ſect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws againſt them, or to puniſh the nonconforming clergy. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the ſuppreſſion of *propheſyings*, or the aſſemblies of the zealots in private houſes, which ſhe apprehended had become ſo many academies of fanaticiſm; and for this offence ſhe had, by an order of the Star Chamber, ſequeſtered him from his archiepiſcopal function, and confined him to his own houſe. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, ſhe determined not to fall into the ſame error in her next choice; and ſhe named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already ſignaliſed his pen in controverſy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the puritans by argument, was now reſolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of penal ſtatutes. He informed the queen that all the ſpiritual authority lodged in the prelates was inſignificant without the ſanction of the crown; and, as there was no eccleſiaſtical commiſſion at that time in force, he engaged her to iſſue a new one; more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority. She appointed forty-four commiſſioners, twelve of whom

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were eccleſiaſtics; three commiſſioners made a quorum; the juriſdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumſtance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the cleareſt principles of law and natural equity. The commiſſioners were empowered to viſit and reform all errors, hereſies, ſchiſms, in a word, to regulate all opinions, as well as to puniſh all breach of uniformity in the exerciſe of public worſhip. They were directed to make enquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witneſſes, but by all other means and ways which they could deviſe; that is, by the rack, by torture, by inquiſition, by impriſonment. Where they found reaſon to ſuſpect any perſon, they might adminiſter to him an oath, called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to anſwer all queſtions, and might thereby be obliged to accuſe himſelf or his moſt intimate friend. The fines which they levied were diſcretionary, and often occaſioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom. The impriſonment to which they condemned any delinquent was limited by no rule but their own pleaſure. They aſſumed a power of impoſing on the clergy what new articles of ſubſcription, and conſequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all other ſpiritual courts were ſubject, ſince the reformation, to inhibitions from the ſupreme courts of law, the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners were exempted from that legal juriſdiction, and were liable to no control. And the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to puniſh all inceſts, adulteries, fornications; all outrages, miſbehaviours, and diſorders in marriage: And the puniſhments which they might inflict, were according to their wiſdom, conſcience, and diſcretion. In a word, this court was a real *inquiſition*; attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inſeparable from that tribunal. And as the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical court was deſtructive of all law, ſo its erection was deemed by many a mere uſurpation of this imperious princeſs; and had no other

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foundation than a clauſe of a ſtatute, reſtoring the ſupremacy to the crown, and empowering the ſovereign to appoint commiſſioners for exerciſing that prerogative. But prerogative in general, eſpecially the ſupremacy, was ſuppoſed in that age to involve powers, which no law, precedent, or reaſon could limit and determine.

But though the commons, in their humble petition to the prelates, had touched ſo gently and ſubmiſſively on the eccleſiaſtical grievances, the queen, in a ſpeech from the throne at the end of the ſeſſion, could not forbear taking notice of their preſumption, and reproving them for thoſe murmurs which, for fear of offending her, they had pronounced ſo low as not directly to reach her royal ears. After giving them ſome general thanks for their attachment to her, and making profeſſions of affection to her ſubjects, ſhe told them, that whoever found fault with the church threw a ſlander upon her, ſince ſhe was appointed *by God* ſupreme ruler over it, and no hereſies or ſchiſms could prevail in the kingdom but by her permiſſion and negligence: That ſome abuſes muſt neceſſarily have place in every thing; but ſhe warned the prelates to be watchful; for if ſhe found them careleſs of their charge, ſhe was fully determined to depoſe them: That ſhe was commonly ſuppoſed to have employed herſelf in many ſtudies, particularly philoſophical (by which I ſuppoſe ſhe meant theological), and ſhe would confeſs that few, whoſe leiſure had not allowed them to make profeſſion of ſcience, had read or reflected more: That as ſhe could diſcern the preſumption of many, in curiouſly canvaſſing the ſcriptures, and ſtarting innovations, ſhe would no longer endure this licentiouſneſs; but meant to guide her people, by God's rule, in the juſt mean between the corruptions of Rome and the errors of modern ſectaries: And that as the Romaniſts were the inveterate enemies of her perſon, ſo the other innovators were dangerous to all kingly government; and, under colour of preaching the word

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of God, presumed to exercise their private judgment, and to censure the actions of the prince.*

From the whole of this transaction we may observe, that the commons, in making their general application to the prelates, as well as in some particular articles of their petition, showed themselves wholly ignorant, no less than the queen, of the principles of liberty, and a legal constitution. And it may not be unworthy of remark, that Elizabeth, so far from yielding to the displeasure of the parliament against the ecclesiastical commission, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commission; in which she enlarged, rather than restrained, the powers of the commissioners.

During this session of parliament there was discovered a conspiracy, which much increased the general animosity against the catholics, and still farther widened the breach between the religious parties. William Parry, a catholic gentleman, had received the queen's pardon for a crime, by which he was exposed to capital punishment; and, having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, and made open profession of his religion, which he had concealed while he remained in England. He was here persuaded by Palmio, a jesuit, that he could not perform a more meritorious action than to take away the life of his sovereign and his benefactress; the nuncio Campeggio, when consulted, approved extremely of this pious undertaking; and Parry, though still agitated with doubts, came to Paris, with an intention of passing over to England, and executing his bloody purpose. He was here encouraged in the design by Thomas Morgan, a gentleman of great credit

* D'Ewes, p. 328. The puritanical sect had indeed gone so far, that a book of discipline was secretly subscribed by above five hundred clergymen; and the presbyterian government thereby established in the midst of the church, notwithstanding the rigour of the prelates and of the high commission. So impossible is it by penal statutes, however severe, to suppress all religious innovation. See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 483. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 291. In

in the party; and though Watts and some other catholic priests told him that the enterprise was criminal and impious, he preferred the authority of Raggazzoni, the nuncio at Paris, and determined to persist in his resolution. He here wrote a letter to the pope, which was conveyed to cardinal Como; he communicated his intention to the holy father; and craved his absolution and paternal benediction. He received an answer from the cardinal, by which he found that his purpose was extremely applauded; and he came over to England with a full design of carrying it into execution. So deeply are the sentiments of morality engraved in the human breast, that it is difficult even for the prejudices of false religion totally to efface them; and this bigoted assassin resolved, before he came to extremities, to try every other expedient for alleviating the persecutions under which the catholics at that time laboured. He found means of being introduced to the queen; assured her that many conspiracies were formed against her; and exhorted her, as she tendered her life, to give the Romanists some more indulgence in the exercise of their religion: But, lest he should be tempted by the opportunity to assassinate her, he always came to court unprovided with every offensive weapon. He even found means to be elected member of parliament; and having made a vehement harangue against the severe laws enacted this last session, was committed to custody for his freedom, and sequestered from the house. His failure in these attempts confirmed him the more in his former resolution; and he communicated his intentions to Nevil, who entered zealously into the design, and was determined to have a share in the merits of its execution. A book newly published by Dr. Allen, afterwards created a cardinal, served farther to efface all their scruples with regard to the murder of an heretical prince; and, having agreed to shoot the queen while she should be taking the air on horseback, they resolved, if they could not make their escape, to sacrifice their lives, in fulfilling a duty so agreeable, as they

imagined, to the will of God and to true religion. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpose, the earl of Westmoreland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to entertain hopes, that by doing some acceptable service to the queen, he might recover the estate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He betrayed the whole conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry, being thrown into prison, confessed the guilt, both to them and to the jury who tried him. The letter from cardinal Como, being produced in court, put Parry's narrative beyond all question; and that criminal, having received sentence of death, suffered the punishment which the law appointed for his treasonable conspiracy.*

These bloody designs now appeared every where as the result of that bigoted spirit by which the two religions, especially the catholic, were at this time actuated: Somerville, a gentleman of the county of Warwick, somewhat disordered in his understanding, had heard so much of the merit attending the assassination of heretics

* This year the earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded some years before, had been engaged in a conspiracy with lord Paget for the deliverance of the queen of Scots. He was thrown into the Tower; and being conscious that his guilt could be proved upon him, at least that sentence would infallibly be pronounced against him, he freed himself from farther prosecution by a voluntary death. He shot himself in the breast with a pistol. About the same time the earl of Arundel, son of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, having entered into some exceptionable measures, and reflecting on the unhappy fate which had attended his family, endeavoured to depart secretly beyond sea, but was discovered and thrown into the Tower. In 1587 this nobleman was brought to his trial for high treason; chiefly because he had dropped some expressions of affection to the Spaniards, and had affirmed that he would have masses said for the success of the Armada. His peers found him guilty of treason: This severe sentence was not executed; but Arundel never recovered his liberty. He died a prisoner in 1595. He carried his religious austerities so far, that they were believed the immediate cause of his death.

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and perſecutors, that he came to London with a view of murdering the queen; but having betrayed his deſign by ſome extravagances, he was thrown into priſon, and there periſhed by a voluntary death. About the ſame time Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook and executed the ſame deſign againſt the prince of Orange; and that great man periſhed at Delft, by the hands of a deſperate aſſaſſin, who, with a reſolution worthy of a better cauſe, ſacrificed his own life, in order to deſtroy the famous reſtorer and protector of religious liberty. The Flemings, who regarded that prince as their father, were filled with great ſorrow, as well when they conſidered the miſerable end of ſo brave a patriot, as their own forlorn condition, from the loſs of ſo powerful and prudent a leader, and from the rapid progreſs of the Spaniſh arms. The prince of Parma had made every year great advances upon them, had reduced ſeveral of the provinces to obedience, and had laid cloſe ſiege to Antwerp, the richeſt and moſt populous city of the Netherlands, whoſe ſubjection it was foreſeen, would give a mortal blow to the already declining affairs of the revolted provinces. The only hopes which remained to them aroſe from the proſpect of foreign ſuccour.

1585. Being well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they expected better ſucceſs in France; and, in the view of engaging Henry to embrace their defence, they tendered him the ſovereignty of their provinces. But the preſent condition of that monarchy obliged the king to reject ſo advantageous an offer. The duke of Anjou's death, which he thought would have tended to reſtore public tranquillity, by delivering him from the intrigues of that prince, plunged him into the deepeſt diſtreſs; and the king of Navarre, a profeſſed hugonot, being next heir to the crown, the duke of Guiſe took thence occaſion to revive the catholic league, and to urge Henry, by the moſt violent expedients, to ſeek the excluſion of that brave and

virtuous prince. Henry himself, though a zealous catholic, yet, because he declined complying with their precipitate measures, became an object of aversion to the league; and as his zeal, in practising all the superstitious observances of the Romish church, was accompanied with a very licentious conduct in private life; the catholic faction, in contradiction to universal experience, embraced thence the pretext of representing his devotion as mere deceit and hypocrisy. Finding his authority to decline, he was obliged to declare war against the hugonots, and to put arms into the hands of the league, whom, both on account of their dangerous pretensions at home, and their close alliance with Philip, he secretly regarded as his more dangerous enemies. Constrained by the same policy, he dreaded the danger of associating himself with the revolted protestants in the Low Countries, and was obliged to renounce that inviting opportunity of revenging himself for all the hostile intrigues and enterprises of Philip.

The States, reduced to this extremity, sent over a solemn embassy to London, and made anew an offer to the queen, of acknowledging her for their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Elizabeth's wisest counsellors were divided in opinion with regard to the conduct which she should hold in this critical and important emergency. Some advised her to reject the offer of the States, and represented the imminent dangers, as well as injustice, attending the acceptance of it. They said, that the suppression of rebellious subjects was the common cause of all sovereigns; and encouragement given to the revolt of the Flemings, might prove the example of a like pernicious licence to the English: That though princes were bound by the laws of the Supreme Being not to oppress their subjects, the people never were entitled to forget all duty to their sovereign, or transfer, from every fancy or disgust, or even from the justest ground of complaint, their obedience to any other master: That the queen,

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in the succours hitherto afforded the Flemings, had considered them as labouring under oppression, not as entitled to freedom; and had intended only to admonish Philip not to persevere in his tyranny, without any view of ravishing from him those provinces which he enjoyed by hereditary right from his ancestors: That her situation in Ireland, and even in England, would afford that powerful monarch sufficient opportunity of retaliating upon her; and she must thenceforth expect that, instead of secretly fomenting faction, he would openly employ his whole force in the protection and defence of the catholics: That the pope would undoubtedly unite his spiritual arms to the temporal ones of Spain: And that the queen would soon repent her making so precarious an acquisition in foreign countries, by exposing her own dominions to the most imminent danger.

Other counsellors of Elizabeth maintained a contrary opinion. They asserted, that the queen had not, even from the beginning of her reign, but certainly had not at present, the choice whether she would embrace friendship or hostility with Philip: That by the whole tenor of that prince's conduct it appeared, that his sole aims were, the extending of his empire, and the entire subjection of the protestants, under the specious pretence of maintaining the catholic faith: That the provocations which she had already given him, joined to his general scheme of policy, would for ever render him her implacable enemy; and as soon as he had subdued his revolted subjects, he would undoubtedly fall, with the whole force of his united empire, on her defenceless state: That the only question was, whether she would maintain a war abroad, and supported by allies, or wait till the subjection of all the confederates of England should give her enemies leisure to begin their hostilities in the bowels of the kingdom: That the revolted provinces, though in a declining condition, possessed still considerable force; and by the

assistance of England, by the advantages of their situation, and by their inveterate antipathy to Philip, might still be enabled to maintain the contest against the Spanish monarchy: That their maritime power, united to the queen's, would give her entire security on the side from which alone she could be assaulted, and would even enable her to make inroads on Philip's dominions, both in Europe and the Indies: That a war which was necessary could never be unjust; and self-defence was concerned, as well in preventing certain dangers at a distance, as in repelling any immediate invasion: And that, since hostility with Spain was the unavoidable consequence of the present interests and situations of the two monarchies, it was better to compensate that danger and loss by the acquisition of such important provinces to the English empire.

Amidst these opposite counsels, the queen, apprehensive of the consequences attending each extreme, was inclined to steer a middle course; and though such conduct is seldom prudent, she was not, in this resolution, guided by any prejudice or mistaken affection. She was determined not to permit, without opposition, the total subjection of the revolted provinces, whose interests she deemed so closely connected with her own: But foreseeing that the acceptance of their sovereignty would oblige her to employ her whole force in their defence, would give umbrage to her neighbours, and would expose her to the reproach of ambition and usurpation, imputations which hitherto she had carefully avoided, she immediately rejected this offer. She concluded a league with the States on the following conditions: That she should send over an army to their assistance, of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others whom she should appoint, should be admitted into the council of the States; that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other; that her expences should be refunded after the conclusion of the war; and that the towns of Flushing

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and the Brille, with the caſtle of Rammekins, ſhould, in the mean time, be conſigned into her hands by way of ſecurity.

The queen knew that this meaſure would immediately engage her in open hoſtilities with Philip; yet was not ſhe terrified with the view of the preſent greatneſs of that monarch. The continent of Spain was at that time rich and populous; and the late addition of Portugal, beſides ſecuring internal tranquillity, had annexed an opulent kingdom to Philip's dominions, had made him maſter of many ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies, and of the whole commerce of thoſe regions, and had much increaſed his naval power, in which he was before chiefly deficient. All the princes of Italy, even the pope and the court of Rome, were reduced to a kind of ſubjection under him, and ſeemed to poſſeſs their ſovereignty on terms ſomewhat precarious. The Auſtrian branch in Germany, with their dependent principalities, was cloſely connected with him, and was ready to ſupply him with troops for every enterpriſe. All the treaſures of the Weſt-Indies were in his poſſeſſion; and the preſent ſcarcity of the precious metals, in every country of Europe, rendered the influence of his riches the more forcible and extenſive. The Netherlands ſeemed on the point of relapſing into ſervitude; and ſmall hopes were entertained of their withſtanding thoſe numerous and veteran armies which, under the command of the moſt experienced generals, he employed againſt them. Even France, which was wont to counterbalance the Auſtrian greatneſs, had loſt all her force from inteſtine commotions; and as the catholics, the ruling party, were cloſely connected with him, he rather expected thence an augmentation than a diminution of his power. Upon the whole, ſuch preſſeſſions were every where entertained concerning the force of the Spaniſh monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when he heard that Elizabeth had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, ſcrupled not to ſay,

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that she had now taken the diadem from her head, and had ventured it upon the doubtful chance of war. Yet was this princess rather cautious than enterprising in her natural temper: She never needed more to be impelled by the vigour, than restrained by the prudence of her ministers: But when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimous courage; and trusting to her own consummate wisdom, and to the affections, however divided, of her people, she prepared herself to resist, and even to assault the whole force of the catholic monarch.

The earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliary forces. He carried with him a splendid retinue; being accompanied by the young earl of Essex, his son-in-law, the lords Audley and North, sir William Russel, sir Thomas Shirley, sir Arthur Basset, sir Walter Waller, sir Gervaise Clifton, and a select troop of five hundred gentlemen. He was received on his arrival at Flushing, by his nephew sir Philip Sidney, the governor; and every town through which he passed expressed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his presence and the queen's protection, had brought them the most certain deliverance. The states, desirous of engaging Elizabeth still farther in their defence, and knowing the interest which Leicester possessed with her, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him, in some respects, as their sovereign. But this step had a contrary effect to what they expected. The queen was displeased with the artifice of the States, and the ambition of Leicester. She severely reprimanded both; and it was with some difficulty, that after many humble submissions they were able to appease her.

America was regarded as the chief source of Philip's power, as well as the most defenceless part of his dominions; and Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with that monarch was unavoidable, resolved not to leave him unmolested in that quarter. The great success of the

the Spaniards and Portuguese in both Indies had excited a spirit of emulation in England; and as the progress of commerce, still more that of colonies, is slow and gradual, it was happy that a war in this critical period, had opened a more flattering prospect to the avarice and ambition of the English, and had tempted them by the view of sudden and exorbitant profit, to engage in naval enterprises.

1586. A fleet of twenty sail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the West-Indies: Two thousand three hundred volunteers, besides seamen, engaged on board of it; sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral; Christopher Carlisle commander of the land-forces. They took St. Jago, near Cape Verde, by surprise; and found in it plenty of provisions, but no riches. They sailed to Hispaniola; and easily made themselves master of St. Domingo, by assault, obliged the inhabitants to ransom their houses by a sum of money. Carthagena fell next into their hands, after some more resistance, and was treated in the same manner. They burned St. Anthony and St. Helen's, two towns on the coast of Florida. Sailing along the coast of Virginia, they found the small remains of a colony which had been planted there by sir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone extremely to decay. This was the first attempt of the English to form such settlements; and though they have since surpassed all European nations, both in the situation of their colonies, and in the noble principles of liberty and industry, on which they are founded; they had here been so unsuccessful, that the miserable planters abandoned their settlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with so much riches, as encouraged the volunteers, and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness in those countries, as served extremely to inflame the spirits of the nation to future enterprises. The great mortality which the climate had produced in his fleet was, as is usual, but a feeble restraint on the avidity and sanguine hopes of young adventurers. It is

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thought that Drake's fleet firſt introduced the uſe of tobacco into England.

The enterpriſes of Leiceſter were much leſs ſucceſsful than thoſe of Drake. This man poſſeſſed neither courage nor capacity equal to the truſt repoſed in him by the queen; and as he was the only bad choice ſhe made, for any conſiderable employment, men naturally believed that ſhe had here been influenced by an affection ſtill more partial than that of friendſhip. He gained at firſt ſome advantage in an action againſt the Spaniards; and threw ſuccours into Grave, by which that place was enabled to make a vigorous defence: But the cowardice of the governor, Van Hemert, rendered all theſe efforts uſeleſs. He capitulated, after a feeble reſiſtance; and, being tried for his conduct, ſuffered a capital puniſhment from a ſentence of a court-martial. The prince of Parma next undertook the ſiege of Venlo, which was ſurrendered to him after ſome reſiſtance. The fate of Nuys was more diſmal; being taken by aſſault, while the garriſon was treating of a capitulation. Rhimberg, which was garriſoned by twelve hundred Engliſh, under the command of colonel Morgan, was afterwards beſieged by the Spaniards; and Leiceſter, thinking himſelf too weak to attempt raiſing the ſiege, endeavoured to draw off the prince of Parma by forming another enterpriſe. He firſt attacked Doeſburg, and ſucceeded: He then ſat down before Zutphen, which the Spaniſh general thought ſo important a fortreſs that he haſtened to its relief. He made the marquis of Gueſto advance with a convoy, which he intended to throw into the place. They were favoured by a fog; but falling by accident on a body of Engliſh cavalry, a furious action enſued, in which the Spaniards were worſted, and the marquis of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was ſlain. The purſuit was ſtopped by the advance of the prince of Parma with the main body of the Spaniſh army; and the Engliſh cavalry on their return from the field, found their advantage more

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than compenſated by the loſs of ſir Philip Sidney, who, being mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the ſoldiers, and ſoon after died. This perſon is deſcribed by the writers of that age as the moſt perfect model of an accompliſhed gentleman that could be formed, even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite converſation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the Engliſh court; and as the credit which he poſſeſſed with the queen and the earl of Leiceſter, was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praiſes have been tranſmitted with advantage to poſterity. No perſon was ſo low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this laſt action, while he was lying on the field, mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirſt; but obſerving a ſoldier near him in a like miſerable condition, he ſaid, *This man's neceſſity is ſtill greater than mine*: And reſigned to him the bottle of water. The king of Scots, ſtruck with admiration of Sidney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verſes, which he compoſed on the death of that young hero.

The Engliſh, though a long peace had deprived them of all experience, were ſtrongly poſſeſſed of military genius; and the advantages gained by the prince of Parma were not attributed to the ſuperior bravery and diſcipline of the Spaniards, but ſolely to the want of military abilities in Leiceſter. The States were much diſcontented with his management of the war; ſtill more with his arbitrary and imperious conduct; and at the end of the campaign they applied to him for a redreſs of all their grievances. But Leiceſter, without giving them any ſatisfaction, departed ſoon after for England.

The queen, while ſhe provoked ſo powerful an enemy as the king of Spain, was not forgetful to ſecure herſelf on the ſide of Scotland; and ſhe endeavoured, both to cultivate the friendſhip and alliance of her kinſman James,

James, and to remove all grounds of quarrel between them. An attempt which she had made some time before was not well calculated to gain the confidence of that prince. She had dispatched Wotton as her ambassador to Scotland; but though she gave him private instructions with regard to her affairs, she informed James, that when she had any political business to discuss with him, she would employ another minister; that this man was not fitted for serious negotiations; and that her chief purpose in sending him was to entertain the king with witty and facetious conversation, and to partake, without reserve, of his pleasures and amusements. Wotton was master of profound dissimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of a careless gaiety, the deepest designs and most dangerous artifices. When but a youth of twenty, he had been employed by his uncle, Dr. Wotton, ambassador in France, during the reign of Mary, to ensnare the constable Montmorency; and had not his purpose been frustrated by pure accident, his cunning had prevailed over all the caution and experience of that aged minister. It is no wonder that, after years had improved him in all the arts of deceit, he should gain an ascendant over a young prince of so open and unguarded a temper as James; especially when the queen's recommendation prepared the way for his reception. He was admitted into all the pleasures of the king; made himself master of his secrets; and had so much the more authority with him in political transactions, as he did not seem to pay the least attention to these matters. The Scottish ministers who observed the growing interest of this man, endeavoured to acquire his friendship; and scrupled not to sacrifice to his intrigues, the most essential interests of their master. Elizabeth's usual jealousies with regard to her heirs began now to be levelled against James; and as that prince had attained the years proper for marriage, she was apprehensive lest, by being strengthened with children and alliances, he should acquire the greater

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intereſt and authority with her Engliſh ſubjects. She directed Wotton to form a ſecret concert with ſome Scottiſh noblemen, and to procure their promiſe that James, during three years, ſhould not, on any account, be permitted to marry. In conſequence of this view, they endeavoured to embroil him with the king of Denmark, who had ſent ambaſſadors to Scotland on pretence of demanding the reſtitution of the Orknies, but really with a view of opening a propoſal of marriage between James and his daughter. Wotton is ſaid to have employed his intrigues to purpoſes ſtill more dangerous. He formed, it is pretended, a conſpiracy, with ſome malcontents, to ſeize the perſon of the king, and to deliver him into the hands of Elizabeth, who would probably have denied all concurrence in the deſign, but would have been ſure to have retained him in perpetual thraldom, if not captivity. The conſpiracy was detected, and Wotton fled haſtily from Scotland without taking leave of the king.

James's ſituation obliged him to diſſemble his reſentment of this traiterous attempt, and his natural temper inclined him ſoon to forgive and forget it. The queen found no difficulty in renewing the negotiations for a ſtrict alliance between Scotland and England; and the more effectually to gain the prince's friendſhip, ſhe granted him a penſion equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grand mother, the counteſs of Lenox, lately deceaſed. A league was formed between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. It was ſtipulated, that if Elizabeth was invaded, James ſhould aid her with a body of two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot; that Elizabeth, in a like caſe, ſhould ſend to his aſſiſtance three thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot; that the charge of theſe armies ſhould be defrayed by the prince who demanded aſſiſtance; that if

the invasion should be made upon England, within forty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom should march its whole force to the assistance of the former; and that the present league should supersede all former alliances of either state with any foreign kingdom, so far as religion was concerned.

By this league James secured himself against all attempts from abroad, opened a way for acquiring the confidence and affections of the English, and might entertain some prospect of domestic tranquillity, which, while he lived on bad terms with Elizabeth, he could never expect long to enjoy. Besides the turbulent disposition and inveterate feuds of the nobility, ancient maladies of the Scottish government, the spirit of fanaticism had introduced a new disorder; so much the more dangerous, as religion, when corrupted by false opinion, is not restrained by any rules of morality, and is even scarcely to be accounted for in its operations by any principles of ordinary conduct and policy. The insolence of the preachers, who triumphed in their dominion over the populace, had at this time reached an extreme height; and they carried their arrogance so far, not only against the king, but against the whole civil power, that they excommunicated the archbishop of St. Andrew's, because he had been active in parliament for promoting a law which restrained their seditious sermons: Nor could that prelate save himself by any expedient from this terrible sentence, but by renouncing all pretensions to ecclesiastical authority. One Gibson said in the pulpit, that captain James Stuart (meaning the late earl of Arran) and his wife Jezebel had been deemed the chief persecutors of the church; but it was now seen that the king himself was the great offender: And for this crime the preacher denounced against him the curse which fell on Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and be the last of his race.

The secretary, Thirlstone, perceiving the king so much molested with ecclesiastical affairs, and with the refractory

re ſuckery diſpoſition of the clergy, adviſed him to leave them to their own courſes: For that in a ſhort time they would become ſo intolerable, that the people would riſe againſt them, and drive them out of the country. "True, (replied the king:) If I purpoſed to undo the "church and religion, your counſel were good: But "my intention is to maintain both; therefore I cannot "ſuffer the clergy to follow ſuch a conduct, as "will in the end bring religion into contempt and de-"riſion."

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.